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'Peace Enforcement' Threatens to Mire UN in Civil Conflicts

More aggressive mandate carries high risks for UN personnel, credibility

By Lucia Mouat
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE UN-authorized retaliatory air attacks in Somalia last weekend were aimed at restoring United Nations credibility everywhere that the organization's 70,000 peacekeepers are on the job. UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali called the action the UN's first attempt at "peace enforcement."

But the bombardment of the weapons and communications centers of Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed, whose forces are blamed for the June 5 deaths of 23 Pakistani peacekeepers, also demonstrates the difficulty the UN faces in trying to improve its reputation and effectiveness. The wisdom of the attacks and their results will be debated for weeks to come. **(Relief officials back away from UN, Page 7.)**

UN credibility is on the line as never before in many of the violent civil wars under way around the globe. UN troops have been ordered to protect aid deliveries, confiscate weapons, and monitor cease-fires that often are blatantly disregarded. The size and scope of the job is straining resources. Persuading member nations to contribute troops is becoming more and more difficult. Increasingly, peacekeepers and relief workers face deliberate attacks and harassment from rebellious factions.

Leaders of the Vietnamese-backed government in Cambodia, who are unhappy with recent election results, for instance, want

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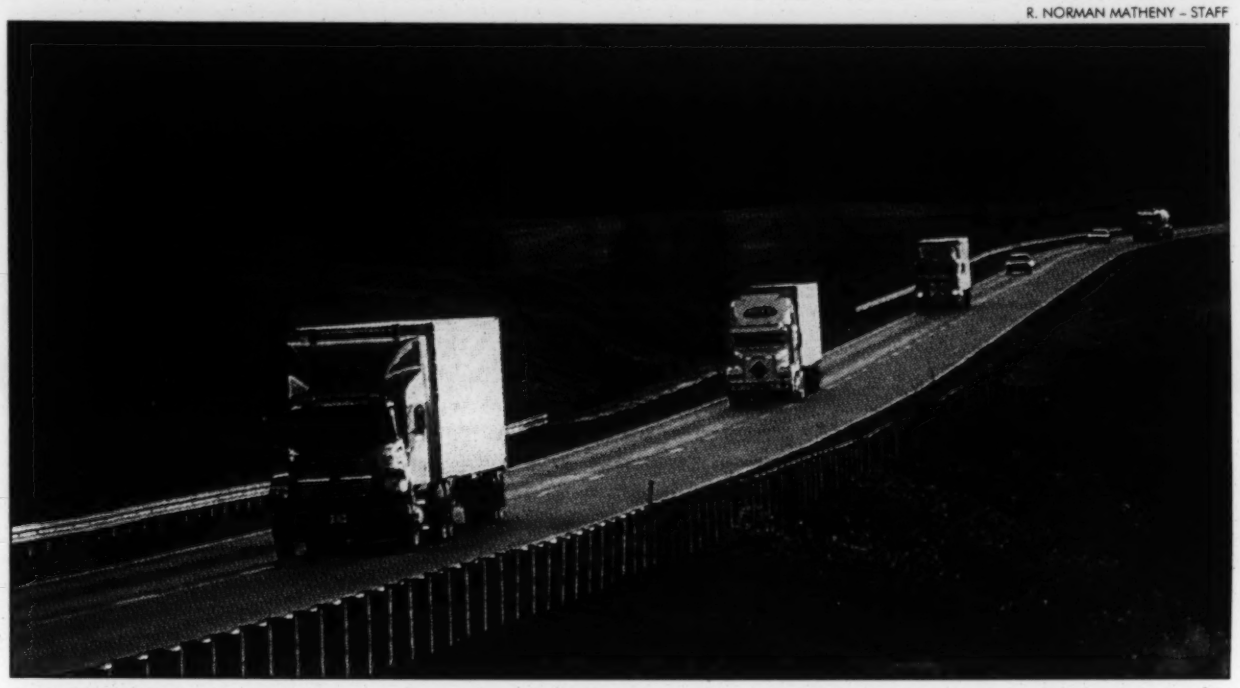
R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



UNEASY RIDERS: *Truckers like these on Pennsylvania's I-80 are gearing up to fight the proposed transportation fuel tax slated to replace the Btu tax, which has fallen victim to pressure from oil companies.*

Energy Plan Unravels As Lobbyists Pick It Apart

Clinton's 'shared sacrifice' meets the cold realities of capital politics

By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

LAST week, oil companies were placing full-page advertisements in newspapers across the country to protest the proposed energy tax based on British thermal units (Btu).

This week, angry seniors are phoning senators to protest plans to slash Medicare benefits, and transportation executives are crowding the marbled halls of the Capitol to rail against fuel taxes.

As the content of President Clinton's fiscal plan has changed, so has the lobbying swirling around the taxes-and-spending debate.

One constant has been the fact that, no matter what plan Congress considers, somebody is sure to take a hit.

At first, Mr. Clinton managed to make that a virtue by hailing "shared sacrifice." But shared sacrifice broke down as one group after another won concessions from the administration and congressional Democrats. Now it has become difficult for the Senate Finance Committee – where the defection of a single Democrat can sink the plan – to agree on any compromise.

The unraveling of the president's fiscal plan started with farmers and petroleum companies and other industries successfully seeking exemptions from the Btu tax. That emboldened opponents of the tax to go in for the kill. The National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, and the American Petroleum Institute formed a group called the American Energy Alliance and sank more than $2 million into an anti-Btu lobbying effort spearheaded by the public-relations firm Burson-Marsteller.

Using approximately 120 full- or part-time lobbyists, the alliance targeted 10 to 15 states in agricultural or oil-producing regions that would be hard hit by the tax. In some states, the group paid for polls showing that most voters didn't like the Btu tax – and shipped the results to lawmakers. In other states, the group sponsored heavy ad campaigns, says Paul Huard, vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

"The ad campaigns contributed to a heavier than usual num-

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South Central L.A. Activists Targets Liquor Stores In Bid to Stem Violence

By Scott Armstrong
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

SOUTH Central Los Angeles has more liquor stores than the state of Rhode Island. But it has only two movie theaters, a handful of banks, and fewer family restaurants than there are cuts of steak at Sizzler.

Is there something wrong with this picture? Community activists have been saying yes for years. Now, in a bold bid to do something about it, they are launching an initiative to convert liquor stores destroyed in last year's riots into other businesses. The drive, if successful, could become a national model for stemming alcohol-related crime and violence and fostering racial harmony in inner-city neighborhoods.

"It's an innovative approach," says Richard Scribner, an assistant professor of preventive medicine at the University of Southern California and an expert on alcohol and violence. "Los Angeles is pretty much the leader in this area."

It hasn't had much choice. Before last year's civil unrest, South Los Angeles, an area of 500,000 people spread over 40 square miles that includes South Central, had 723 licensed liquor outlets. That put a minimarket selling

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President offers Supreme Court seat to moderate jurist Ruth Bader Ginsburg.
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War-Torn Eritrea Rebuilds
Like these villagers constructing an irrigation dam, people work to restore their ravaged land.
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A Salute To the Graduates
Commencement speakers around the country offer advice to the Class of 1993 – a Home Forum roundup.
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Army Releases A New Code For the Corps

THE Army marches into a new intellectual era this week as it formally abandons its cold-war fighting doctrine and adopts a revised code that emphasizes quick-strike moves to faraway lands.

The new guide, dubbed FM-105 Operations, also highlights the fact that operations such as the peace-keeping mission to Macedonia or the cleanup after Hurricane Andrew are the wave of the future.

Almost two years in the works, the publication was rewritten by Gen. Frederick Franks, head of the Army's Training and Doctrine Command, and Gen. Gordon Sullivan, the Army chief of staff. General Franks, the commander who led the Army's VII Corps on its famed "Left Hook" into the Iraqi Republican Guard during the Persian Gulf war, began the revisions soon after returning.

WASHINGTON WATCH

No take, no talk

There is a lot less talk coming from members of Congress these days – at least outside the Beltway.

Along with showing decreases in gifts from influence agents and trips taken, this year's financial disclosures indicate that the ban on accepting speaking honoraria may mean fewer stops on the rubber-chicken circuit.

Last week's disclosures were the first since scandals last year forced a clampdown on what lawmakers receive aside from their salaries.

Senate majority leader George Mitchell (D) of Maine took $23,500 for his talks in 1991. Last year, nothing. Similarly, Sen. Joseph Biden (D) of Delaware and Sen. Ted Stevens (R) of Alaska went from $17,850 and $17,000, respectively, to zero.

Republican leader Bob Dole of Kansas was still one of the most popular on the lecture circuit, but he tapered back by nearly a third – "raising" $64,100 last year for charity, which by law gets all the fees.

And Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D) of Illinois, the undisputed House honoraria champ, reduced the intake for his favorite charities nearly $30,000, to $80,500.

President on a stick?

President Clinton welcomed several hundred journalists to a White House barbecue with just one request: that he not be part of the menu. "The only condition I had when I knew you were coming is I wouldn't be put on the spit," Mr. Clinton declared affably Sunday night as members of the Washington press corps gathered on the South Lawn.

Clinton, who had good ties with the media when he was governor of Arkansas, has had some rocky relations with the press since taking office.

– Compiled by Terri Theiss

NATIONAL

Proposal to divide California gains ground in the Legislature. Separatists say the state is too big, disparate, and unwieldy.

Cal-If-Ornia: Could It Be Three?

By Scott Armstrong
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

HERE we go again: They want to split up California. Only this time the idea isn't to divide it in half – but thirds.

Nor is this just the whim of some rural lawmaker trying to send a message of alienation and frustration to his urban brethren, or attempting to exclude that "godless" sprawl of stucco and decadence, Los Angeles, from the rest of beloved California. A proposal to let the voters decide if they want to divide up the state actually passed the state Assembly last week, something that hasn't happened in 134 years.

It was in 1859, you may recall, that both houses of the state Legislature approved and the governor signed into law a bill to slice California into two states.

But the measure was abandoned in Congress, which has to sign off on any such cartographic carving, because federal lawmakers were preoccupied with their own little problem at the time, the Civil War.

While California is still probably more in danger of being splintered by the San Andreas fault than any legislative move, the separatist movement has gained enough momentum that it is no longer given credence only by Jay Leno.

"Nobody has taken it seriously to this point," says Bud Lembke, editor of Political Pulse, a Sacramento newsletter. "Now they will have to."

Leading the split-the-state charge, as he has almost since arriving in Sacramento 17 years ago, is Assemblyman Stan Statham (R) of tiny Oak Run in northern California. He and other separatists argue that the state has become a second national government – too big and unwieldy to rule effectively. Its population is larger than 144 countries.

They believe dividing the state, especially into thirds, will make lawmakers more responsive to citizen needs. Assembly members now represent nearly 400,000 people, about 10 times the national average.

"I have come to the irrevocable conclusion that California's government is dysfunctional," Mr. Statham says. "We have known that California is divided. It is about time we act as adults and make it legal."

Proponents believe the move would give the region more clout: Instead of two US senators, the Californias would have six. Others consider this logic as valid as fool's gold. Division, they argue, would only diffuse the state's economic and political power. "If we put this measure before the voters, we legislators are saying we don't believe California is governable anymore," says Assemblyman Ross Johnson (R) of Fullerton.

Behind the move are tensions that have always made California Janus-faced: north versus south, rural versus urban, rich versus poor. There have been 26 attempts to break up the state since 1859.

Historian Kevin Starr says one other dimension of the current movement is concern in northern and central California about illegal immigration and the increasing minority and third-world makeup of southern California. This separatist drive, he says, coincides with a push for greater local autonomy in many first-world countries, including the United States.

"It has a long way to go before becoming a reality," Mr. Starr says of the divide-California movement. "But it has to be taken seriously as a symptom of possible things to come."

California's boundaries always did seem to make less than Golden Stately sense. When leaders first drew statehood maps, they included Baja and parts of Nevada and Arizona. But they later dropped these because they thought the state would be too big for Washington to accept.

The state didn't evolve out of one cohesive cultural system like Massachusetts in the Puritan period or Texas in its days as a Republic. It was settled at different times by different people for different reasons – early Spaniards in southern California and the 49ers in gold-rush country. The Central Valley was settled by farmers after irrigation was developed early this century. The state is an amalgam of disparate economic, cultural, and geomorphic units.

Statham's legislation would put a nonbinding resolution on the ballot in 1994. It divides the state north of San Francisco and in the Tehachapi Mountains south of Bakersfield. That means San Diego and Los Angeles would be in the southern state, Santa Barbara and San Francisco in the middle, and rural northern California in the third.

The bill imposes conditions on such a move – that all three units be economically viable, that taxes not be raised as a result of the division, that existing water pacts remain intact.

Do not plan on changing any maps just yet. First, the measure has to pass the state Senate.

Though the body approved a two-state bill in 1965, its current Democratic leader, David Roberti, says an advisory referendum would just create "divisiveness for no purpose. A lot of people would vote aye to send a message with no real effect."

Then the governor would have to sign off on something that might eventually make him chief executive of an incredible shrinking state.

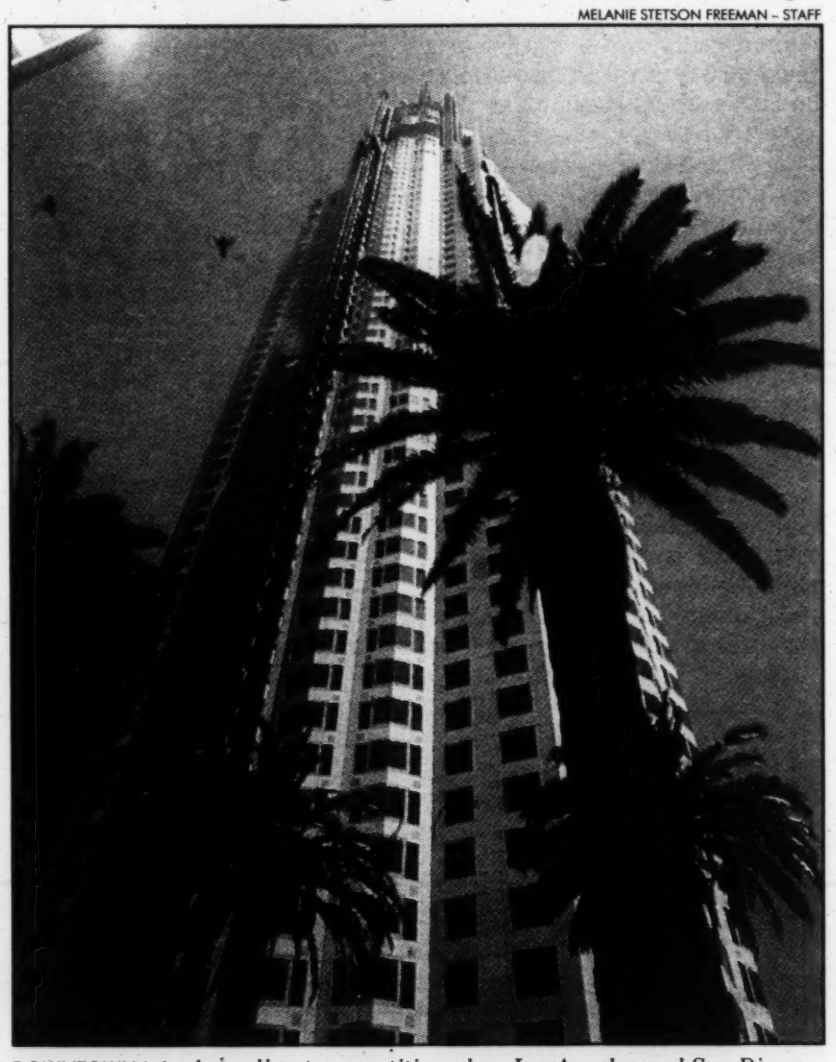
And the voters? Last June, 27 out of 31 northern and central California counties voted in favor of cutting the state in two. But there has always been a hesitancy to redraw borders in southern California, which is dependent on the north for water.

At some point, Congress would have to go along, too – in other words, agree to give the new California states four new US senators.

Still, some analysts give Statham, a man of P.T. Barnum sales skills, credit for making separatism something other than a gag line at government seminars.

John Syer, a professor of government at California State University at Sacramento, says cutting the state in thirds is a particularly shrewd move. It allows residents in the timber-dependent far north to be rid of their Nemesis, San Francisco, while allowing San Francisco to jettison its vacuous villain, Los Angeles.

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF



DOWNTOWN L.A.: *According to a partition plan, Los Angeles and San Diego would anchor the south; San Francisco and Santa Barbara would be in the 'middle' state, and rural northern California in the third.*

Clinton Seeks Center In Naming Ginsburg To the Supreme Court

By Marshall Ingwerson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton's nomination of federal Judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg to the Supreme Court, if it is confirmed in the Senate, will put two women on the top court for the first time in history.

It will also fill the court's "traditional Jewish seat" for the first time since 1969 with a justice that is generally regarded as a competent and safe choice in the moderate range of the philosophical spectrum.

But Mr. Clinton's choice – who would be the only justice on the bench appointed by a Democrat – also reflected a president acting from a position of political weakness.

The three months it took the White House to settle on a successor to retiring Justice Byron White was the longest any president has taken to make his Supreme Court choice since at least the Eisenhower era.

In those three months, Clinton ran through a succession of possible choices, letting them float quite publicly, and returned to where he began. Judge Ginsburg was one of the prominent names originally on his list. He returned to her quite suddenly over the weekend.

"He's not operating from a position of strength," says law and history professor Kermit Hall of the University of Tulsa, a leading scholar of the Supreme Court. "The weaker the president, the longer it takes to make a choice."

As recently as Friday, Clinton seemed to have the safest possible candidate from political attack or confirmation problems in federal Judge Stephen Breyer. Judge Breyer is a political moderate with sterling legal credentials and a consensus-building, nonconfrontational temperament.

But over the weekend, the emergence of his failure to pay Social Security taxes for a part-time cleaning woman raised echoes of the Zoë Baird problem. Versions of these problems over household-help hiring have now torpedoed four prominent Clinton appointments.

Senate staff members believed that Breyer's problems were minor and could have been overcome to confirm him in the Senate. But the White House chose not to fight that battle, either because Clinton saw a double standard in carrying forward the nomination of a man for an issue similar to one that had killed the nominations of two women, or simply because others would argue that point.

"Having Breyer come right to the end and then drop him showed a lack of willingness to fight" on Clinton's part, says Norman Ornstein, political analyst at the American Enterprise Institute.

JUDGE Ginsburg is more conservative than her colleagues on the DC Court of Appeals, both of whom were reportedly considered for Supreme Court appointments. But she is probably less conservative than Breyer. The Ginsburg appointment generally fits Clinton's recent pattern of visibly moving toward the political center.

She is considered a judge who tends to interpret law narrowly, especially labor law, which may raise some opposition to her among labor unions.

But she has also been a leading pioneer in establishing legal protections for women in the workplace. She played prominent roles in several cases in the 1970s, where the Supreme Court struck down laws or practices that treated women and men unequally. She successfully argued, for example, that women in the military should be able to declare husbands as dependents for benefit purposes.

Court watchers expect that she will become a player in the middle of the court, which now coalesces primarily around Justice David Souter and Sandra Day O'Connor.

She may not have the even, coalition-building temperament of Breyer. Some attorneys go further to say she does not have the "big heart" that Clinton said he was seeking as a primary qualification for the bench.

"Judge Ginsburg's got a pretty tough tongue," says Professor Hall.

The other major candidate at the end of Clinton's search, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, was scotched by his friends in the environmental lobby, who want to see him stay at Interior. Some environmentalists and legal experts see this as a short-sighted strategy, however, since the court is likely to be a major forum for critical environmental decisions in coming years.

An anonymous readers'-comments page in an Appalachian paper gives citizens from Neon to Stinking Creek a safe place to air their views

To Whomever It Might Concern: This Is What I Think About That

A LETTER FROM WHITESBURG, KY.

THE citizens of this skinny town, wedged in the flat hollow between the steep mountain walls of Appalachian coal country, were always reluctant to express themselves in letters to the local newspaper.

"It marked you for life," explains Pat Gish, wife of publisher and editor Thomas Gish of the Mountain Eagle, an 86-year-old weekly newspaper published from a strip mall dominated by a Family Dollar discount store.

In a region where family networks are vast, the big mining companies do most of the hiring, and politics is personal, letters to the editor could bring retribution, says Ben Gish – managing editor and son – even if not until a decade later.

But 10 years ago, the Eagle began "Speak Your Piece," an anonymous forum where readers call in and record their messages. The floodgates of opinion burst. In the first issue, reader comments consumed seven full broadsheet pages.

The outpouring has leveled off to a mere one to several pages since then, but the 27,000 people of Letcher County, Kentucky, which runs from Neon to Stinking Creek, have found a robust forum for their views – public and private, generous and mean, practical and petty.

This is low-tech participatory journalism that leaves Larry King call-in shows in the dust. It offers a public window into hearts and minds that few communities could match.

Local political commentary raises some unusual character questions:

To the person who commented about a candidate campaigning at a chicken fight: If you are so good and perfect what in the world were you doing at a chicken fight?

Terry Adams, are you going to leave and go to Florida if you get elected as jailer like you did when you were elected county surveyor?

But the character questions cut both ways:

This is a candidate who lost the election, and I know I was supposed to get more votes than I got. The people in this county told me every time I asked them that they were going to vote for me, and I asked a thousand people. I only got two votes, so 998 lied to me.

Politics are also extremely practical:

Mr. Seals: Me and eight members of my family will vote for you for mayor of Neon only if between now and then the parking lot and the alley around your building in Neon is cleaned up of all the garbage.

Homer Rose Jr.: Election time is coming up again, but evidently you must not be wanting anyone to vote for you. You sure aren't fixing any graveyard roads.

On jobs and the economy, people say things in the newspaper now that they still fear would lose them work if they had to sign their names, according to Mrs. Gish.

DLX: The price of your coal didn't get cut, so don't you think it's time to furnish health and life insurance and give the hard-working men a raise? Not the bosses. They make big bucks.

Isn't it pitiful that a coal company like South East will work their men for nothing? It has been three solid weeks that they've worked and never gotten a pay day. How much more do they think the men can stand?

But not all the blame goes up the pay scale. Folks get you-know-who-you-are prods in the work and money department:

I know a man who works every day and makes over $250 a week, but he doesn't buy any food and doesn't have any food in the house right now. He has a wife and two kids and I think he ought to get some food in the house.

Some of you women in Letcher County amaze me. I wouldn't have a man if I had to support him. ... When are you going to wake up and smell the coffee, girls? Men are supposed to support us, not us support them.

The messages reflect most of the frustration and support of neighbors:

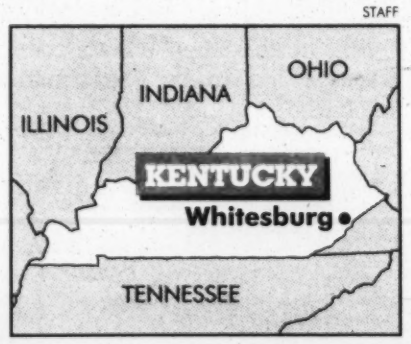
I'm calling in about my neighbors. They tell me they're into recycling. Since when is recycling throwing your garbage in the creek when the creek's up?

To all the people who came out to help their neighbors at Eolia, especially on Smith's Creek, during the blizzard: God bless you all.

But it includes the kindness of strangers when it matters most:

A couple of weeks ago we lost our mother and we were staying at the Parkway Motel. We were all very broken hearted. While we were there, two waitresses working in the restaurant there were so cheerful and so sweet they just brightened our day. Their names were Judy and Kathy. They always had a smile on their faces and something kind to say to everyone. It would be a lot better world if everyone had people like those two. Girls, we love you. Thanks a lot.

STAFF



At the center of life here, as elsewhere, are affairs of the heart. Other comments, of course, are directly specifically at the newspaper.

Managing editor Ben Gish transcribes the tapes himself. He edits out comments that risk libeling someone, but leaves in some strong accusations.

Having owned the Mountain Eagle since 1957, notes Mrs. Gish, the family has a pretty keen feel for what is true and what isn't.

Much of Speak Your Piece is stuff of no great public value. But then, says Ben Gish, "anything that gets fourth grade girls to read" is worth something.

– Marshall Ingwerson

L.A. from page 1

wine and beer or a store selling hard liquor at virtually every major intersection.

While state law limits liquor outlets to one for every 2,500 residents, the stricture is enforced countywide. Thus some neighborhoods can exceed the limit while the county as a whole remains below the ceiling.

The stores proved popular targets during the riots. Cultural animus was a contributing factor. More than 200 were damaged or destroyed. Many of the stores are owned by Korean Americans, and local resentment has surfaced over the immigrants' success and some business practices. At the same time, the shops had become a focal point of black anger at the justice system.

Shooting leads to boycott

In March 1991, the Korean owner of the Empire Liquor Market Deli shot and killed 15-year-old Latasha Harlins after the black girl stole a $1.79 bottle of orange juice.

The merchant was sentenced to five years' probation with no time behind bars. The incident, and several others like it, prompted blacks to boycott some Korean-owned businesses in South Central.

Even before these animosities, though – going back virtually to the Watts riots 28 years ago – ministers and neighborhood activists have rued the prevalence of liquor stores and the destructive influence of alcohol on urban life.

They complain about stores being magnets for crime: public drunkenness, drug dealing, theft, and prostitution. They worry about children walking past liquor stores or buying groceries in them.

"We don't think it is acceptable to have a liquor store on every corner," says Karen Bass of the Community Coalition for Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment. "The point is not to drive businesses away but to have businesses that are productive to the community."

Studies have shown that alcohol plays a part in as many as two-thirds of all murders and suicides in the United States. A 1986 federal report identified alcohol abuse as the predominant health problem in the black community.

Since the riots, the city has taken steps to address the issue. It now requires special public hearings before issuing permits for liquor stores, gun shops, and certain other businesses. In March, the City Council blocked an effort by one liquor store owner to rebuild. Such actions have pleased community groups but angered some Asian entrepreneurs. Thus they joined with blacks and others in launching the conversion program.

"The idea was to find some common ground between us and organizations in South Central that are working" to reduce the concentration of liquor stores, says Erich Nakano of the Asian Pacific Planning Council. Others involved in the program include Asian Pacific Americans for a New L.A., a consortium of 40 community groups, and the substance-abuse coalition.

City funds conversion

Operating with a $260,000 grant from the city, organizers will offer classroom training for those who want to start another business.

Even with aid, conversion won't be easy. Liquor stores have traditionally been profitable and easy to set up.

Tom Park lost his liquor store and grocery in last year's unrest. He is looking at replacing it with a laundromat. Still, Mr. Park isn't ruling out opening another store, with liquor on the shelves.

His bottom line: "When I come back, it has to be a profitable business."

UN from page 1

UN forces out of seven provinces in the east so an "autonomous zone" can be created.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, where a Spanish peacekeeper was killed near Mostar over the weekend, Bosnian Serbs have blocked numerous UN-protected humanitarian aid convoys. Last week troops of the Muslim-led Bosnian Army stopped two armed UN cars and stole machine guns and bulletproof vests at gunpoint.

So far this year, a total of 78 UN peacekeepers have been killed. Nabbing the culprits often is difficult. Court systems are ineffective or nonexistent.

Sir Brian Urquhart, former UN undersecretary-general in charge of peacekeeping and now a Ford Foundation scholar, favors a special international legal tribunal to try those accused of killing UN peacekeepers and relief personnel.

"I think if the world community ... is going to put people out in the field in these situations, it owes them every possible form of protection," he says.

As the UN takes on more responsibilities, the organization may find it needs new tools and more powers to carry out its peacekeeping tasks.

David Caron, a professor of international law at the University of California at Berkeley, agrees. As the UN takes on more responsibilities often reserved for governments in such situations as Cambodia and Somalia, he says, it may find that it needs new tools and more powers.

Frustrated by the increasing problems UN peacekeepers face amid civil wars, Security Council diplomats are stepping up the authority of such troops to use force when peace is threatened.

The problem is that the more aggressive UN stance also carries new risks. Actions the UN may see as neutral often appear one-sided to fighting factions. Also, experts say, involvement that begins with a humanitarian motive often becomes mired in complications.

Take the concept of "safe havens" in Bosnia. The Security Council has recently authorized UN troops to take "necessary" measures, including the use of force, to protect six Muslim cities. Just one year ago, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said the level of fighting in Bosnia was such that no UN peacekeepers should be sent there. And even though a UN force of more than 7,000 troops now performs a variety of tasks in Bosnia, fighting remains as intense as ever.

William Taylor, an international security expert with the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, sees an analogy in the UN's increasing involvement in civil wars and the "creeping" involvement of the US in the Vietnam war.

The UN and the US, he says, "should not blindly and incrementally walk into a role that's ill-defined and full of risks." A serious and thorough study of the subject is needed, he says.

When nations, rather than factions, were at war, the efforts of lightly armed UN peacekeepers to keep parties apart that had agreed to cease-fires worked fairly well. But local militias fighting civil wars, Sir Brian says, often are less responsive to world pressure and do not always heed agreements they may have signed.

Arguing this point, some experts say the UN should stay out of civil wars altogether.

"The temptation just to walk away in a situation where no one wants to stop fighting is getting stronger and stronger," notes Hurst Hannum, an expert in international law with Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Medford, Mass.

"It's only been in the last couple of years that the UN has been thinking about taking this active, aggressive role in going in and essentially forcing settlements. Nobody's been very good at that, and the UN really isn't any better," he says.

CLINTON from page 1

ber of phone calls and letters," says Laurie Boeder, communications director for Sen. Kent Conrad (D) of South Dakota, a target of the lobbying effort.

By June 9, the administration was conceding defeat in the face of the heavy lobbying. With the Btu tax seemingly dead, senators groped for an alternative. The plan that has won the most support so far is a proposal by Sen. John Breaux (D) of Louisiana to add a 7.3-cent tax on transportation fuels. Senators are also looking for more spending cuts, possibly from Medicare.

Predictably, those plans have stirred opposition from transportation industries and seniors' groups. But while those organizations are trying to put together an effective lobbying effort, their activity is unlikely to reach the high pitch of the anti-Btu campaign.

For one thing, the Senate plans are changing so fast that it is difficult to mobilize opposition. "Every day there's a different rumor. It's hard for seniors to write in because they don't know what they're opposing," says Victoria Wingman of the National Council on Aging.

Another difference is that many industry groups, such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Association of American Railroads, prefer the fuel tax to the Btu. That leaves the industries hardest hit by the fuel tax – principally airlines and trucking – to go it alone.

BOTH are protesting loudly. "In recent years we have not been able to pass along tax or regulatory costs to consumers," complains Tim Neale of the Air Transport Association. "The airline industry is in really rough shape."

"Fuel taxes are regressive, unfair to rural areas, and politically dangerous to those who support them," adds Thomas Donohue, head of the American Trucking Association.

His group, with a budget of more than $40 million and a staff of 300, is organizing a whirlwind campaign against the fuel tax. Members have been told to contact their lawmakers, lobbyists have met with White House and Treasury officials, and 300 chief-executive-officers were scheduled to storm the Capitol yesterday.

Their concerns have been heard. Sen. Max Baucus (D) of Montana, a member of the Finance Committee, has expressed opposition to the fuel levy, saying it would unfairly hit Western states where people drive longer distances.

The senior citizens' lobby also has made its power felt. Originally, seniors' groups went along with a House plan that called for $55 billion in Medicare cuts. But when the Senate last week began talking about trimming an additional $22 billion, 20 seniors' groups released a letter calling the cuts "completely unfair and unjustified."

Their concern was echoed by liberal senators, such as Barbara Mikulski (D) of Maryland, who wrote to the White House saying, "I do not believe that seniors should be asked to pay more than their fair share in order to give the energy industry a break."

To back up that message, seniors' groups sent "action alerts" to their members, asking them to organize telephone calls and letters to lawmakers.

But the 33 million-member American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) has no plans to declare all-out war along the lines of the American Energy Alliance.

"We don't want to put the whole package in jeopardy," says John Rother, the AARP's legislative director. "We need to pass an economic package to get to health reform, which is our major action item."

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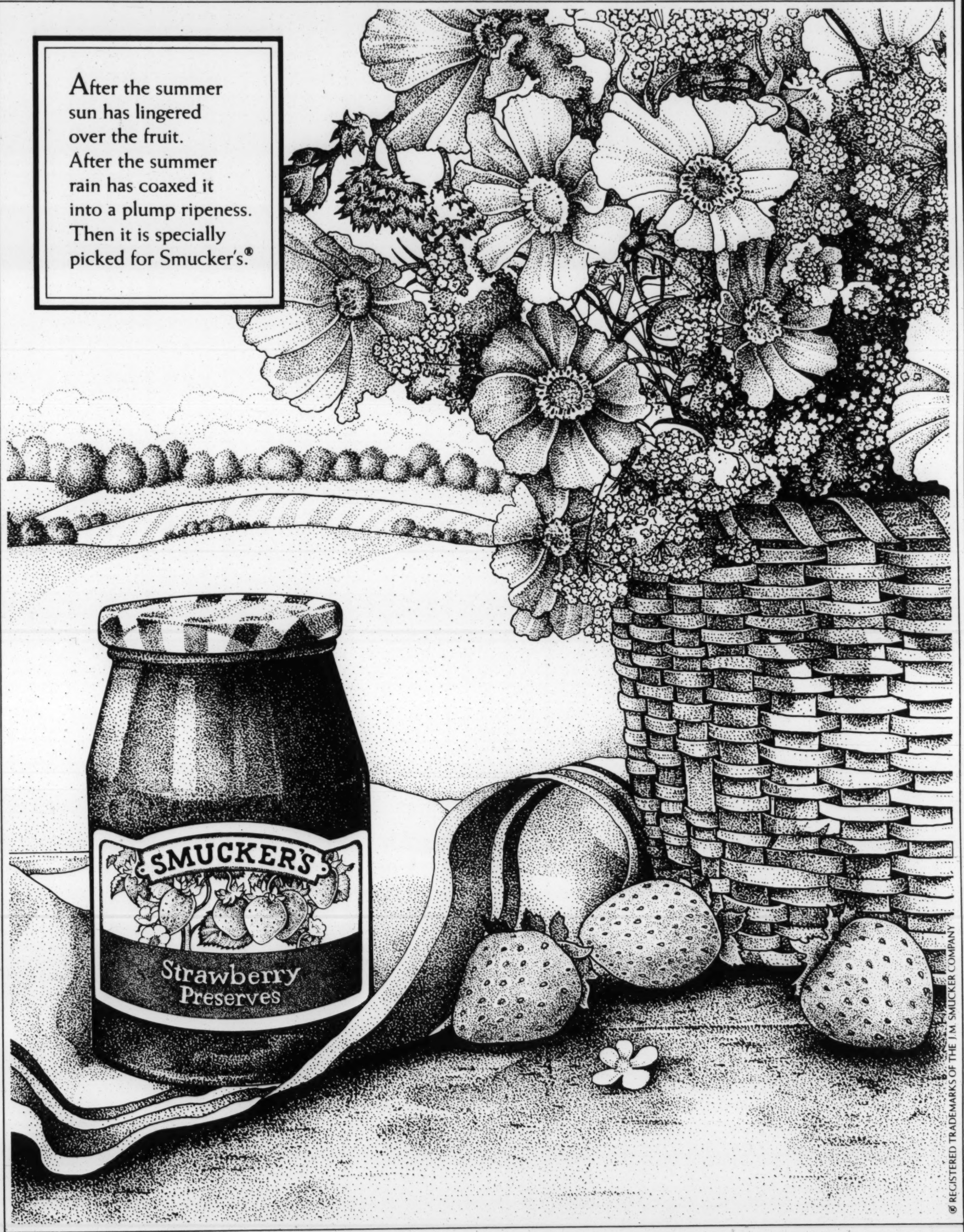

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INTERNATIONAL

Canada's Campbell Turns to the Race Ahead

New premier must strengthen a weakened economy and solidify conservatives before she faces elections this fall

By Mark Clayton
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

OTTAWA

FOR the first time in its history, Canada will have a woman prime minister.

Kim Campbell, a feisty 46-year-old lawyer and former professor who rose swiftly through the ranks of the nation's ruling Progressive Conservative Party, was elected the party's first female leader Sunday evening.

Ms. Campbell edged out the young Environment Minister from Quebec, Jean Charest, who had been gaining on her in the last weeks of the campaign.

"This great contest within a family is now over," Campbell said in a gesture to the disappointed Charest camp. "I invite each and every one of you to join with us for the greater battle that lies ahead against our real opponents and for the real prize, our third consecutive majority government."

Campbell will need unity and all the help she can get. As party leader under Canada's parliamentary-style government, she will take over from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in the next few weeks. Her job is to get the economy going and her party reelected in federal elections this fall.

Mr. Mulroney, who announced his resignation in February, may have wanted to lead the party, but his low standing in the polls led him to conclude that a new face would have a better chance of leading conservatives to an election victory.

But with 11.4 percent unemployment and many Canadians bitter over government cuts to social programs, Campbell's task of distancing herself from Mulroney may be impossible.

A series of patronage appointments Mulroney made in his last days in office has not helped her, analysts say. "Getting out from under Mulroney's shadow is a real problem," says Michael Bliss, a University of Toronto historian.

"I think the government is going to be very badly beaten in the fall. People are so angry at Mulroney that it won't matter what she does," Mr. Bliss adds.

Campbell says one of her first tasks will be to tackle the federal and provincial deficits by calling a special meeting with the provincial premiers to reach an agreement on spending. That, she says, will buoy Canada going into the July meeting of the group of seven leading industrialized nations in Tokyo.

PETER JONES/REUTERS

OTTAWA, CANADA: *Kim Campbell celebrates her selection as Canada's prime minister. She must call federal elections before November.*

Given Campbell's need to establish herself, many analysts say she will wait as long as possible before calling an election. Elected to Parliament in 1988, she was soon appointed Minister of Indian Affairs, later became Minister of Justice, then was appointed to the post of Minister of Defense in January.

Party strategists hope that Campbell will be able to solidify the conservative base in Canada's western provinces, where Preston Manning's Reform Party has eroded it. She also has the backing of prominent Quebec nationalists in her party, and thus may do fairly well among Quebec conservatives who might otherwise have voted for Quebec's federal party, the separatist Bloc Québécois (BQ).

Ontario, however, may be an insurmountable problem for the conservatives. Many unhappy with the Ontario New Democratic Party will blame the federal NDP – and vote Liberal.

Some analysts estimate conservatives could lose 20 or more seats in the country's most populous province – throwing the party out of power. The result, some say, could be a Liberal-led minority government in alliance with the New Democratic Party, and Conservatives, Reform, and BQ in the opposition.

Campbell will need all the help she can get from Mr. Charest, who ran a better-organized campaign and came from far behind to nearly beat her. Still, Campbell made few errors in the final days. And the campaign momentum that Charest's camp appeared to have built evaporated on the first ballot. On the second, Campbell won 52.7 percent of the votes cast by 3,452 delegates.

Spain's González Looks to Nationalist Catalans for Support

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BARCELONA, SPAIN

ON huge billboards througout this Spanish regional capital, the Catalan nationalists' slogan from the national parliamentary elections held earlier this month continues to cry out: "Now, we decide."

As Spanish President Felipe González takes up consultations this week with a range of political parties to figure out who will back a government of "stability and renewal," Spain will learn how much truth the Catalans' campaign slogan still holds.

Although the Catalan nationalists did not win the pivotal position they anticipated in the June 6 elections, they remain one of the likeliest partners for Mr. González as he forges a working majority.

What interests not just Spain but much of Europe is the price the nationalists are expected to demand. In exchange for either joining a coalition government or agreeing to support a minority Socialist one, the center-right nationalists will insist on concessions that would have a deep impact on Spain's economic and regional policies.

"Our support for the government González names will come in exchange for greater [regional] autonomy and commitment to an economic policy that the left wing of the [Socialist Party] will find difficult to accept," says John Vallvé, foreign relations secretary of the Catalonian government. "We want a stable government, too, but not at any price."

At the same time, inclusion of the nationalists in Spain's government would be a historic step – both for the country's stability and governability, and for the regions' sense of themselves. "This could turn Catalonia more into a region than the little country that it is now," says Salvador Giner, director of the Institute for Advanced Social Studies here.

Even though González won an unprecedented fourth consecutive victory in the elections, he finds himself for the first time at the mercy of other political parties because his Socialist Party lost its absolute parliamentary majority.

Lacking by 16 votes the majority needed to confirm a new government early next month and then to pass legislation after that, González is reduced to two likely options: working with the communist-led United Left coalition (18 seats) or the Catalan nationalists' CiU party (17 seats), perhaps along with the Basque nationalists' PNV (5 seats).

But González himself hinted last week that he was less inclined to work with the United Left because its leader was "always very critical" of the European Community's Maastricht Treaty on European union, and of the austere economic measures Spain must undertake in order to qualify for an eventual single European currency.

"Clearly we [Catalan nationalists] remain his only alternative," says Antoni Subiria, Catalonia's minister of industry and energy.

Most Catalan observers and officials assume, however, that CiU's cooperation is more likely to come in the form of parliamentary support for González's legislative program than as participation in a coalition government.

FOR one thing, joining in a coalition with the national government in Madrid may be too far a philosophical leap right now. "Seeing CiU join the Socialists in an executive function would be too much of a compromise with Spain for the most nationalist of the party's supporters," says Marc Carrillo, a constitutional law specialist at Pompeu Fabra University here.

But the Catalans have just as many pragmatic political reasons not to join. "Whatever its composition this government is unlikely to last four years," Mr. Subiria says. "We should be very careful about assuming too much coresponsibility in such a situation, especially when we would certainly not be getting enough important influence to make up for the risk."

The focus now is on the CiU demands. CiU's leader, Catalan President Jordi Pujol, last week demanded acceptance of a fiscal law reform, allowing Catalonia to keep at least 15 percent of the tax revenues it raises (rather than sending it to Madrid) "before even saying hello" to González.

CiU leaders also want commitments to other reforms – a more flexible national labor policy, and tighter controls on central-government spending – that are unlikely to trouble González personally, but which will not sit well with the left wing of his party.

Indeed, the Socialists' unsettled internal battles, which led to this month's elections in the first place, will determine how much leeway González has in working with other political formations. The left wing has already signaled it will not accept the Catalans' regional fiscal demands.

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Germany's SPD Picks Leader to Face Kohl in '94

By Francine S. Kiefer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DÜSSELDORF, GERMANY

GERMANY'S opposition Social Democrats, out of power for more than 10 years, have opted for a pragmatist to head their party. The question is whether their new top gun, Rudolf Scharping, can unify the divided party and unseat three-term Chancellor Helmut Kohl in 1994.

Even though Germany is in the middle of its most severe economic recession since World War II, the Social Democrats (SPD) will have a difficult time upsetting incumbent Kohl – simply because of his well-oiled political machine.

The SPD is in urgent need of a strong leader, someone who can bridge the ideological gaps within the party that have grown so wide in the last 12 months.

The previous SPD chairman, Björn Engholm, tried to forge consensus on such party-splitting issues as the country's asylum law, reunification costs, and German troop deployment. Mr. Engholm, however, was forced to quit the party chairmanship last month after admitting he lied in an official investigation of a political scandal six years ago.

Party members have swung behind Mr. Scharping, who received a clear endorsement on June 13 in the first SPD poll of the grass roots for party chairman. He is expected to be confirmed as chairman at the SPD extraordinary congress June 25.

The party chairman and chancellor candidate are usually the same in German politics. Yesterday Scharping said he is willing to run against Mr. Kohl in 1994.

A regional politician who is a relatively unknown on the national scene, Scharping is described by one diplomat in Bonn as "sensible and workmanlike."

An SPD moderate, he is the governor of the west German state of Rhineland-Palatinate. He is part of the new generation of Social Democrats. When he was elected governor in 1991, he became the first outsider to break the postwar reign of Kohl's Christian Democratic Union in that state.

"I think Scharping has the ability to bring together the various wings in the party," says Reiner Millauer, an SPD member who came to hear the candidates for the party leadership debate in Düsseldorf on Sunday.

Mr. Millauer, however, admitted that the chances of an SPD victory over Kohl are poor. "Time is too short. It will take a while to rebuild this party," he says.

Scharping fans describe him as a realist and a good manager. But inexperience on the national scene and lack of charisma are two major strikes against him.

"Who knows anything about Scharping? He's fairly unkown," says Werner Hoyer, secretary-general of the Free Democratic Party – the junior partner in Kohl's coalition government, but also a coalition partner with the SPD in Rhineland-Palatinate.

Scharping, Mr. Hoyer continues, "seems to be too boring to challenge a power machine like Helmut Kohl."

In his speech in Düsseldorf on Sunday, the conservatively dressed Scharping trotted out the usual SPD causes: more jobs, more apartments, more emphasis on the environment.

In practice, however, he is far from the leftist camp in the SPD. For instance, he helped mold the SPD's compromise that led to a constitutional change and tightening of Germany's liberal asylum law. Leftists in the party consider the new law an abandonment of Germany's historical duty to protect the persecuted around the world.

And, unlike one of his competitors for the party chairmanship, Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul – or "Red Heidi" – he favors the deployment of German troops in United Nations peacekeeping missions. Under certain circumstances, he can envision an even greater role for German troops abroad.

Yesterday, however, the SPD parliamentary group announced it will challenge deployment of German troops in Somalia by asking the German Constitutional Court today to make a speedy decision on the legality of the matter.

The party's parliamentarians argue that since renewed fighting in Somalia, the situation has escalated beyond a humanitarian mission for Germany and thus also beyond the country's constitutional restrictions on German troops.

DAN ELDON/REUTERS

TARGETS OF PEACEKEEPING: *Somalis wounded after UN troops fired on a demonstration June 13 are treated at a Mogadishu hospital. Some relief officials are calling for the withdrawal of Pakistani peacekeepers.*

Relief Agencies in Somalia Back Away From Close UN Ties

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NAIROBI, SOMALIA

RELIEF agency officials are calling for a switch from military attacks to diplomacy in the Somali crisis, as controversy continues to swirl around the actions of Pakistani peacekeepers.

US-led air attacks in the capital, Mogadishu, have halted relief and development efforts there and in outlying areas. More attacks, relief officials warn, could endanger future agency work by further antagonizing Somalis, encouraging attacks on Westerners.

Public protests after the air strikes have brought large crowds into the streets. On Sunday, Pakistani troops opened fire on a crowd from a rooftop position, reportedly killing 14 protesters.

Pakistani soldiers should be withdrawn from their patrol duties in the streets of the capital because they are "too emotional [and] don't have restraint," says Mike McDonagh, director of relief and development programs operated by Irish Concern in Somalia. A Pakistani officer said Sunday his troops had the right to fire on a crowd if they felt threatened.

"It's time to talk," he said yesterday from Mogadishu, adding: "There's been too much bloodshed." Mr. McDonagh's views were echoed by other relief agency officials contacted in Nairobi and Mogadishu.

McDonagh was one of the few relief officials to support military retaliation of some kind for the killing of 23 Pakistani soldiers June 5, allegedly by the faction of Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed. But now McDonagh warns that General Aideed should not be arrested or "you might have 10 little Aideeds coming up" and even more instability and public protests.

Meanwhile, Aideed, the warlord whose faction is the target of the UN reprisals, has played for public sympathy in the wake of the attacks on his arms depots. He has visited local hospitals to see the victims of the Pakistani shootings and called on President Clinton to stop the killing. Having lost ground both geographically and politically in recent months, Aideed may now feel he has an issue that will help him recoup popular support.

Relief agencies are trying to distance themselves from what they see as the tarred image of the UN in Somalia because of the US attacks and Pakistani killings. "We decided not to work with UNOSOM [United Nations Operations in Somalia] in the future because the image UNOSOM is going to have in the future is terribly bad," says Jordi Raich, coordinator for the Spanish chapter of Doctors Without Borders. "It will be even more dangerous to travel with UNOSOM than to travel without an escort," he adds.

UN troops have been providing escorts to relief agencies traveling outside Mogadishu. Within the city, the UN has allowed agencies to hire gunmen as escorts.

But most foreign relief personnel evacuated Mogadishu last week. Now, say Mr. Raich and Howard Bell, interim director of Care's programs in Somalia, Pakistani soldiers are stopping the local staff of the relief agencies and taking their permitted guns away unless there is a "white" person in the car. "So our projects are stopped," says Raich.

Further criticism of the UNOSOM program in Somalia came yesterday in a statement issued to the press by Care.

The agency accused the UN of being "partisan." Mr. Bell cited the World Food Programme's effort June 14 to deliver relief food to the northern part of Mogadishu, which is controlled by a warlord rival of Aideed, Mohamed Ali Mahdi.

Delivery to the northern side of the city, which has not been hit by the air strikes nor been the scene of protests, "is more practical" than trying to distribute food in the tense southern, Aideed-controlled side of the city, says Bell. But it sends a partisan political signal to Somalis, Bell claims: Bomb one faction, feed the other.

Jordi claims UNOSOM has failed to unify the capitol, due to lack of political initiative and lack of an aggressive disarmament policy. Bell says UNOSOM has failed "to get sufficient numbers of high-quality people" in key UNOSOM jobs.

A UNOSOM political official declined to respond to questions from the Monitor in a call to Mogadishu yesterday. A UNOSOM spokesman in Nairobi, who was difficult to reach in his office, abruptly ended a telephone interview last week before questions could be posed.

ECONOMY

US Manufacturing Comes Back Into Vogue

From government to universities to businesses big and small, the focus is not only on service, but making things

By Laurent Belsie
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CHICAGO

AMERICA is rediscovering the importance of manufacturing. The Clinton administration wants to fund help-centers for manufacturers. Universities are starting to pay closer attention to industrial issues. Corporations are tuning in to the factory floor.

Analysts and corporate leaders disagree about how much progress the "back-to-manufacturing" movement has made. But there is little doubt that there has been a sea-change in thinking.

"Ten or 15 years ago, there was a general assumption ... that the US was going to be a service economy," says Keith McKee, director of the Manufacturing Productivity Center here on the campus of the Illinois Institute of Technology. Now it is becoming chic again to make things.

Take computer-chip manufacturers. A few years ago, the high-flyers in the chip industry were those who did not make their own semiconductors. They contracted fabrication plants (known as fabs) to manufacture their designs. But that strategy has faltered in the '90s. The "fabless" companies are in retreat.

"It's good to be able to make what you sell," says T. J. Rodgers, president and chief executive officer of Cypress Semiconductor Corporation in San Jose, Calif. "The fabless companies are getting worried."

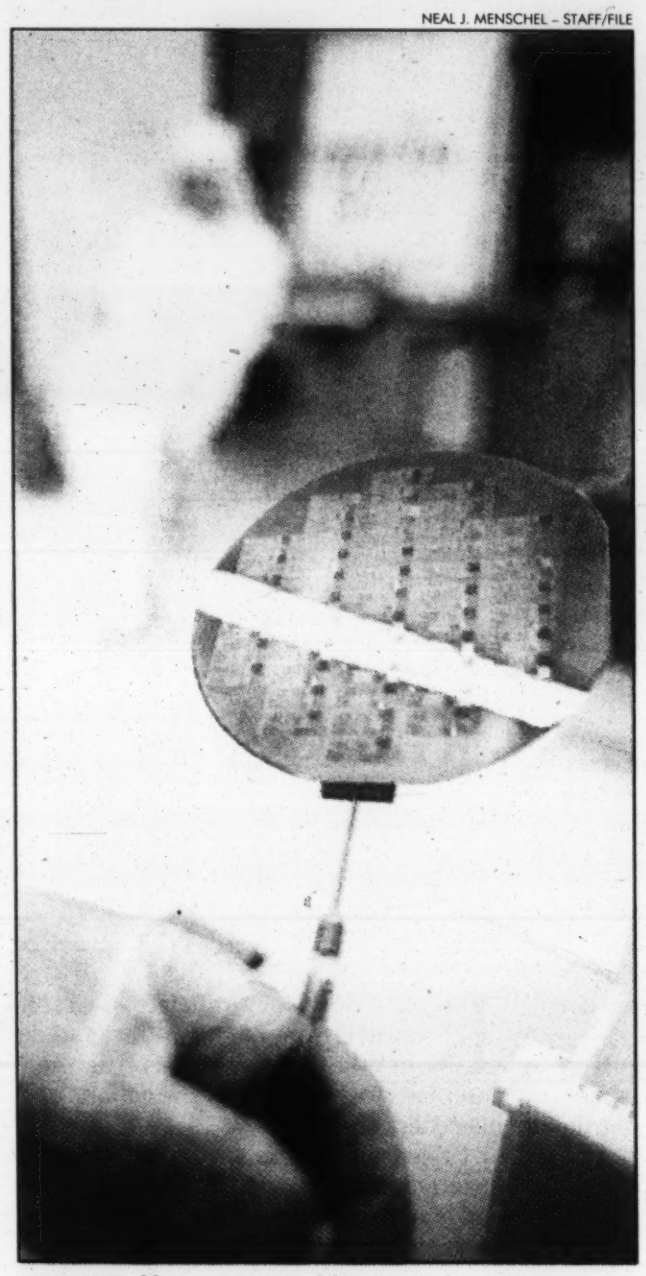
"You can't be big and be fabless," says W. J. Sanders, chairman of chipmaker Advanced Micro Devices. "Those new companies seem to have very short lives."

But that does not mean that there is no place for a fabless company.

"It works, provided that the value-added of the product can afford two profits [the designer's and the manufacturer's]," says Ed Sack, chief executive officer of Zilog Inc., a small California chipmaker that is partially fabless – designs but does not manufacture about 10 percent of its chips. But "if you are going to stay with a product when the going gets rough, when there is price competition, you're far better to have your own fab."

Universities are also taking a new look at manufacturing. "Students are coming [to interview at Intel] who never would have talked to us," says Andrew Grove, chief executive officer of Intel Corporation. Mr. Grove, who also teaches at the Stanford Business School, says the school has placed increasing emphasis on manufacturing. Whereas a few years ago the school offered no courses in manufacturing, today it has a whole program devoted to the subject, he says.

NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF/FILE



CHIPMAKER: *More computer chip companies are now making what they sell. Pictured here is a silicone chip from the Microelectronic Center in Westborough, Mass.*

And the change is not limited to high technology. Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley caused a ruckus last fall when he said publicly that manufacturing was dead in the city. The statement reflected Chicago's frustration as many light- and heavy-manufacturing companies closed down or left the city in the 1980s.

"It took a concerted effort to convince the mayor and his aides that manufacturing ... wasn't dead," says Lynne Cunningham, executive director of the Southeast Chicago Development Commission. Now, "the tone of the city and Department of Economic Development has changed."

The change in tone has helped build initiatives already under way. In 1990, the city formed the Chicago Manufacturing Technology Consortium (CMTC), aimed at improving the competitiveness of the city's small- and mid-sized manufacturers. The consortium has attracted nearly $2 million in state and local funding, reviewed more than 200 manufacturers who might need help, and conducted in-depth analysis of about 50 of them.

"The CMTC has allowed us to focus on these mid-level companies," says Mr. McKee of the Manufacturing Productivity Center. Previously, the center worked only with large companies.

The city also seems more willing to help its manufacturers. For years the Verson Corporation, a maker of machine tools on the city's southeast side, could not build very big machines because trucks had to pass under a low viaduct coming in and out of its plant. Recently, the City Council approved some $500,000 to raise the viaduct. "What these companies need is not sophisticated technology necessarily, but some basic environmental support," says Jim Notter, spokesman for the city's Economic Development Commission.

NOT even the optimists, however, believe that the back-to-manufacturing movement will lead to a dramatic increase in the number of manufacturing jobs in the United States. What will happen, the optimists maintain, is that manufacturing will take the same road as agriculture. The number of factory workers will dwindle, just as the number of farmers has fallen. But manufacturing will create new support industries – and jobs – just as agriculture has.

Today, "people understand the interdependence of services and manufacturing," says Demetria Giannisis, director of international strategic planning for Chicago's planning and development department. "Without manufacturing, service jobs don't expand."

Efforts at the local level are now being echoed at the top. The Clinton administration has targeted efforts to create manufacturing extension centers. These centers would be federally funded with roughly the same mission as Chicago's CMTC. The CMTC is hoping to qualify.

"People recognize the importance of doing this," says Maryellen Kelley, professor of management and policy at Carnegie Mellon University. "The Clinton administration has the potential of unleashing a lot of ... well-agreed upon policy initiatives."

Payroll Deduction Plans Embrace Environmental Causes

By Elizabeth Ross
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

EMPLOYERS across the country are helping their employees work for the environment through payroll deduction plans.

Using state and regional environmental federations as distributors, employees donate a percentage of their paychecks to organizations active in preserving air, land, water, and natural habitats throughout the United States. Payroll deductions for other causes have existed for a long time. Environmental deductions are relatively new.

Seventeen state-based environmental federations are in existence, says Jim Abernathy, executive director of Environmental Support Center in Washington, a national organization that assists environmental groups with fundraising.

"Just two years ago, there were only three state environmental federations so I think there has been lots of growth," he says. "In addition, the ones that already exist, as well as the new ones, are breaking into ever more workplaces."

Workplace giving through payroll deductions have several advantages, supporters say. Environmental groups benefit because contributions tend to be steadier over time as opposed to one-time yearly contributions.

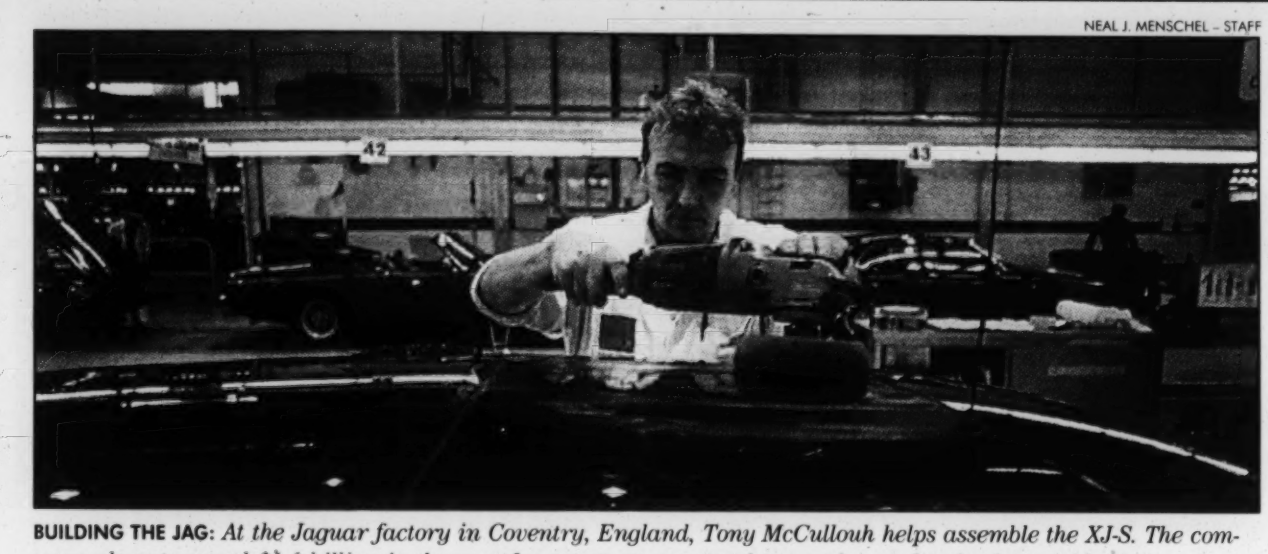
Employees benefit because they are not bothered with filling out solicitation mailings, says David Kronberg, executive director of the Environmental Federation of New England (EFNE). Also, employees can choose among several environmental affiliates to support at one time, he says.

Boston-based EFNE is the country's only regional federation. So far, EFNE has established payroll deduction plans for 38 private and public employers. These deductions benefit 44 environmental organizations from each of the six New England states.

Employer participation has increased almost 41 percent since last September, Kronberg says. Other umbrella organizations, such as the United Way, also offer payroll deduction services.

Last year, Lotus Development Corporation of Cambridge, Mass., included EFNE among seven other umbrella federations that employees can support through payroll deductions. "I think employees were pleased to have the opportunity to support environmental organizations," says Catherine Thibault, administrator of corporate giving at Lotus.

NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF



BUILDING THE JAG: *At the Jaguar factory in Coventry, England, Tony McCullouh helps assemble the XJ-S. The company plans to spend $1.1 billion in the next few years on new products and a modernized assembly line.*

Jaguar's Quality Leaps Up, But New Models Needed

Struggling automaker relies on Ford Motor Company financial aid

By Paul A. Eisenstein
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

COVENTRY, ENGLAND

THE cars creep down the assembly line, providing ample time for workers to joke or sip tea. Once a symbol of elegant opulence, Jaguar Cars Ltd. has become emblematic of the collapse of the British auto industry. Sales have plunged and losses have soared, forcing the company to lay off thousands of workers.

Were it not for a helping hand from across the Atlantic, "Jaguar would not have survived," says chairman Nick Scheele. But some analysts question whether its parent, the Ford Motor Company, can provide the assistance Jaguar needs without diluting the venerable marque's distinctly British heritage.

"Ford has given us whatever we've asked them for," Mr. Scheele says, including Scheele, himself. The British-born executive was running Ford's Mexican operations when he transferred to Coventry in January 1992.

For the last few years, what Jaguar has been asking for most is money. Ford bought Jaguar for $2.5 billion in 1989.

"There's no doubt Ford paid too much," says auto analyst Maryann Keller of Furman Selz, and even some ranking Ford executives agree.

In 1992, Jaguar lost $395 million, and the losses continue, albeit at a markedly slower pace. There are several reasons behind Jaguar's slump.

■ The company has not completely redesigned its product lineup in more than a decade, a glaring omission in today's hotly competitive luxury market.

■ Endemic defects, in the 1970s and '80s, especially with electrical systems, created an image problem.

■ Its two key markets, the United States and Britain, have been in deep recession.

As a result, worldwide sales plunged to just 22,482 last year, down from 49,498 in 1988. To turn things around, "I [need] to get new product as quickly as possible," Scheele says.

Jaguar recently updated its XJ sedan, adding a new V12 engine and refining the car's look and feel. But these changes are largely cosmetic. The real test will come next year, when Jaguar unveils a new XJ sedan. The company will follow, 18 months later, with a replacement for the current line of coupes.

Some analysts question whether Ford can assist Jaguar without diluting the venerable marque's distinctly British heritage.

The most critical product is the X200, a new compact luxury sedan. Targeted to compete with the BMW 5-series models, the X200 is expected to become Jaguar's big-volume model by the end of the decade.

The automaker's capital spending plans total $1.1 billion through 1997. Most will go into these new products, but Jaguar will add a new, more modern and flexible assembly line at its Brown's Lane Assembly Plant.

Until recently, Jaguar's design and engineering center operated much the way it had when its first vehicle – the Swallow – debuted in 1935. Now Jaguar technicians tap into Ford's database, making use of sophisticated CAD/CAM design programs. Prototype designs can be run through "crash tests" and measured for aerodynamic drag before the first clay models are ever built.

Ford also has helped Jaguar lower its parts costs. Until recently, Jaguar needed to sell nearly 50,000 vehicles to break even, but that number is down to 25,000. The redesigned XJ-12 is the first Jaguar to come in both on time and under budget.

But Ford is also aware it cannot take over Jaguar's revival. "The image is what we bought and we'd be foolish to dilute it with an overt association with Ford," says Richard Beattie, vice president of sales and marketing for Jaguar Cars North America, who came from Ford.

One of Jaguar's most difficult challenges is to improve quality – both real and perceived. In recent months, the automaker has shot from the bottom into the top 10 on the oft-quoted J. D. Power quality charts. But it still has a long way to go to catch up to Japanese competitors, such as Lexus and Infiniti, which captured the top two spots on the Power survey.

To ease the concerns of skeptical luxury car buyers, the automaker recently launched its "Dream Guarantee" program. Dissatisfied American customers can return their car and get their money back within 30 days.

Scheele predicts big gains in the years to come. Once the new X200 is in production, he suggests Jaguar sales could break the 100,000 mark.

The company has won at least one convert. Ms. Keller of Furman Selz says she was surprisingly impressed after a recent tour of the automaker's operations."You have the sense it's a real car company now. What I saw proves they can make it."

That is, Keller underscores, if Ford continues to pump money into Jaguar until it is strong enough to fund its own aggressive plans.

Schools Get Funding, But for What Result?

"EVERYBODY" knows that expenditures for education, especially by the federal government, were cut back severely over the past decade or so and that children have suffered in the process.

So it was a real eye opener to learn from a recent Congressional Budget Office (CBO) report that funds available to schools increased substantially during the 1980s, and the quality of American education did not decline. Federal appropriations to support elementary and secondary education rose in constant dollars from $12.8 billion in fiscal year 1980 to $14.2 billion for fiscal year 1993. That's an 11-percent increase. Education outlays by states and localities rose at an even faster rate.

As a result, expenditures per pupil in public schools rose 35 percent from the 1981-82 school year to the 1990-91 school year, reaching an average of $5,400 per pupil, after adjusting for inflation. (Without explanation, the CBO study ignores the large and important sector of American private education.)

The average salary of full-time teachers also increased in the 1980s – after declining in the late 1970s. In the 1990-1991 school year, the average teacher's salary rose to a record $33,000, while the average class size declined.

Over the last decade, the average pupil-teacher ratio dropped to 19 students per teacher in elementary schools and 14.5 students in high schools.

These are measures of "input," or the resources going into education. But what about the "output," the results produced? In this case, there is both good and bad news.

The good news is that today's students are performing at roughly the same levels as previous students. Average achievement in science and mathematics – which declined substantially in the 1970s – improved significantly in the 1980s. The gap between whites and minorities also lessened.

One of the better-kept secrets in American education is that the high school completion rate for 19- to 20-year-olds rose to 83 percent in 1990. A reduction in dropout rates was especially notable for black and Hispanic pupils during the 1980s. The proportion of high school graduates who entered college in the fall after graduation rose during the 1980s to a record level of more than 60 percent in 1990, up from 49 percent in 1980.

The bad news is that United States students did not do very well in an international assessment of educational progress conducted in 1990-91.

For example, 13-year-old students in the US performed at about the same level on science tests as pupils in Canada, France, and Spain – but not as well as students in Korea, Taiwan, and the former Soviet Union. In mathematics, US student were significantly outscored by their counterparts from all other countries taking the test except Spain.

These comparisons are hardly novel, however. A 1981-82 algebra skills' test revealed that Japanese students outperformed US students. While 60 percent of the Japanese students in the seventh grade answered the test questions correctly, only 42 percent of American students did. However, US pupils currently enrolled in an algebra class did about as well as the top Japanese students.

When we combine the good news about outlays for schooling and the bad news about students' relative performance, the problem does not seem to be lack of money. We must look for solutions to problems within the education process in the US – a process that does not sufficiently challenge the average student.

Diversity within the American educational system can be a big plus, however. Fifty states, thousands of school districts, and an unsurpassed array of private educational institutions permit a degree of experimentation unparalleled elsewhere in the world.

We can take advantage of that opportunity and encourage school systems to try something different, including choice (competition), vocational education alternatives, and work-study programs.

Mediocre results from our existing large commitment to education is a compelling reason to advocate change.

■ *Murray Weidenbaum is director of the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis.*

BETTY PRESS

MAKING A DAM: *Eritrean workers gather soil by hand. The villagers will carry the bags 200 yards to an irrigation dam under construction in the new nation ravaged by war.*

War-Torn Eritrea Begins to Rebuild

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

EMBITO, ERITREA

TOILING to construct a 30-foot-tall earth dam for crop irrigation, mostly by hand, some 55 residents of this African farm village, including young girls and elderly women, line up with burlap sacks.

After digging dirt by hand to fill the sacks, they lug their loads to the dam site, 200 yards away. There they dump the dirt and tamp it down with the only machine being used, a small motorized roller. Then the workers, who are paid less than 50 cents a day worth of sorghum, go back for another load.

Along with massive terracing and reforestation projects, such dam-building is part of a national effort to restore – mostly by hand – the environment and farming of Eritrea, a breakaway province that won a 30-year war against Ethiopia in 1991. Officials celebrated the new country's independence on May 24 this year.

But with 80 percent of the population dependent on agriculture for a living and much of the country's farmland suffering from years of neglect during the long war, the task ahead is Herculean.

The soil erosion is "horrendous," says Tesfai Ghermazien, who heads the Eritrean Department of Agriculture. "Unless we restore our ecology, we can't have restoration of agriculture."

During the war, terraces that once slowed erosion were allowed to deteriorate, as farmers fled battles or, because they might have to flee, minimized their environmental efforts.

Some 500,000 Eritreans, most of them farmers, fled to neighboring Sudan to escape the war and drought. Most are still there.

Massive numbers of trees were cut down in Eritrea during the war, increasing the erosion, especially around areas where units of the Ethiopian Army were stationed.

The combination of drought and the cutting of trees for fuel by both soldiers and trapped urban residents has devastated the region around Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, including this hilly area some 20 miles from the city.

"When I was young, the hills [in this region] were covered with trees," says Bahta Tedros, a soil and water conservation expert with Eritrea's Department of Agriculture.

Around the turn of the century, about 30 percent of Eritrea was forest; now less than 2 percent is, Agriculture Secretary Tesfai says.

In this valley, soil has eroded off the treeless hills so badly that only rock remains near the top of some ridges.

But as some villagers build the dam to allow the growing of dry-season vegetable crops by irrigation, others have begun restoring old terraces or building new ones on many of the hillsides where there is still some soil.

HABITAT

The terraces not only retard erosion, but they also slow rain runoff so that it seeps into the hillsides, eventually raising the water table under crop lands in the valleys and improving crop-production potential, Tedros says.

Standing on a terraced hillside about six miles outside of Asmara, near another village, Mr. Bahta points to the recently constructed lines of earth and stone terraces that snake around the hills.

"We can do it," Bhata says confidently of plans to stabilize the soil on hillsides in the region and make the valleys below flourish. "If you are hopeful, you can do anything," he says, before trudging back down the hill.

In addition to thousands of miles of terracing, in 1992 Eritreans completed 17 dams, 20 ponds, and 34 wells, and they planted more than 20 million tree seedlings grown in rural nurseries, says Secretary Tesfai.

Some 100,000 seedlings are growing at one small nursery in the village of Adihawsha. The seedlings are mostly local varieties, which do well if the rains are good, says Isak Gilagbir, the head of the nursery. About 10 percent, he adds, are nonnative eucalyptus, which do better during dry years. The government of Eritrea supplies eucalyptus and juniper seeds to nurseries; villagers gather other seeds from local trees.

"Trees are growing well," says Scott Jones, a British forestry specialist working for the Eritrean Department of Agriculture. "People are craving seedlings."

One worker in the nursery, Tesfai Mairam, says he and many other farmers in the region hid themselves and their cattle in caves to escape detection by Ethiopian troops during periods of heightened tensions.

"Some family members were shot while walking along the roads; others were imprisoned" by Ethiopian troops, he says. "We weren't allowed to farm this area."

On March 30, the International Development Association approved a $25 million loan for Eritrea, part of which is for fertilizer, seeds, tools, and livestock – all needed to help farmers.

Even though many farmers in the area still lack enough seeds, tools, and oxen for plowing, farmer Rigbe Gebreapt, another part-time worker at the nursery, says the future looks "very bright."

"We have each other," she says. "Brothers and sisters have been reunited."

But conflicting land-ownership claims and lack of a uniform land-tenure system in Eritrea make "the land issue the most explosive issue" facing the new country, says Haile Woldense, secretary of the Department of Economic Development and Cooperation. A government commission has begun studying the topic, but it "might take it some time" to sort things out, he says.

LEARNING

A new program in a Cambridge, Mass., technical school combines academic subjects with hands-on skills, and uses the city to prepare students for today's workplace

Vocational Education Isn't Just Shop Courses

By Elizabeth Ross
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

EDWIN ELLCOCK, a freshman at the Rindge School of Technical Arts in Cambridge, Mass., says he wants to go to college and then become a professional football player and also maybe a math teacher.

Mark Davis, another freshmen at the Rindge School, hopes to study physics in college and become a fireman.

And Jawana Benjamin, also a Rindge freshmen, would like to pursue a culinary-arts career but is also thinking about becoming a doctor or lawyer.

Like many high school freshmen, these students are still undecided about their careers. But unlike most vocational high school freshmen, they are in no hurry to make serious career decisions.

That's because these young people are taking part in the Rindge School's "CityWorks" program, an innovative vocational-education program. The idea is to expose freshmen to a variety of different skills, both academic and technical, that will better prepare them for the workplace when they graduate.

Central to this approach is the Cambridge community, which students use as an important educational resource. Students familiarize themselves with Cambridge through maps, three-dimensional models, photographs, portfolios, oral histories, and writing projects.

Viewed by some education experts as a promising new approach to vocational learning, the program won a $100,000 grant as one of 10 winners in the Ford Foundation's 1992 Innovations in State and Local Government Awards contest.

"A lot of what we're trying to do with CityWorks is create a relationship between academics and hands-on work," says David Stephen, Rindge School drafting instructor. "We wanted to create a foundation of broad-based transferrable skills."

Traditionally, in the first year of a vocational high school, students explore different technical fields in the school's shops. By the end of their freshman year, many are expected to concentrate in one area, covering a range of specific job possibilities.

But to succeed in today's global economy requires more than hands-on training in one field, many education experts say. Studies show that only about one in four vocational students in the United States end up pursuing the fields they studied in school, says Paul Weckstein, co-director of the Center for Law and Education in Washington, D.C.

As a result, students need more time to explore career options, he says. And CityWorks's two-pronged approach better prepares young people for their careers, according to Mr. Weckstein.

"This is a different form of learning in which students are exploring the entire community and its needs and the potential new careers," Weckstein says. "And yet at the same time the students start to develop some technical skills through the way they build models."

But the idea of integrating academics and skills training is not new to vocational education. And Cityworks's approach is not embraced by everyone. Some experts argue that the program is too generalized for vocational students who count on finding decent-paying jobs right after they graduate.

"Some students, frankly, are going to continue to go on to the workplace immediately after high school. So what's the best thing we can do for them?," asks John McDonagh, who handles vocational issues for the Massachusetts Education Department.

Nevertheless, the program has proved popular for students. Although it is too soon to measure its success, Cityworks organizers say attendance rates are up, students are more engaged in class work, and parents are supportive.

APPROXIMATELY 70 students are enrolled this year. The low teacher-student ratio – one instructor for every six to eight students – makes instructors more accessible. The program is open to college-bound students as well as those who plan just to finish high school.

Kids get involved in a variety of community-related projects. One project, called "Walk Around the Block," requires teams of students to study a city block. The kids interview people in the block, conduct inventories, take photographs, and draw up blueprints. They later put together display boards and do oral presentations in front of the class.

"We're learning about Cambridge," Rindge freshman Alfreda Cromwell says. "It's kind of good to be learning about the city you live in."

Students also create their own make-believe businesses. Last year, the kids designed a restaurant called "Broadway Blues Cafe." Culinary-arts students created real dishes for the restaurant, carpentry students built a full-scale corner of the restaurant, and graphics-arts students designed the restaurant's menu and logo.

Students also designed and created models for an auto-body shop called "Smooth Bodies," a teen center, and an industrial-arts museum.

"It's a hypothetical but very real project where they see how the different trades are integrated and how the skills that they are using can be applied to really starting new enterprises," Mr. Stephen says.

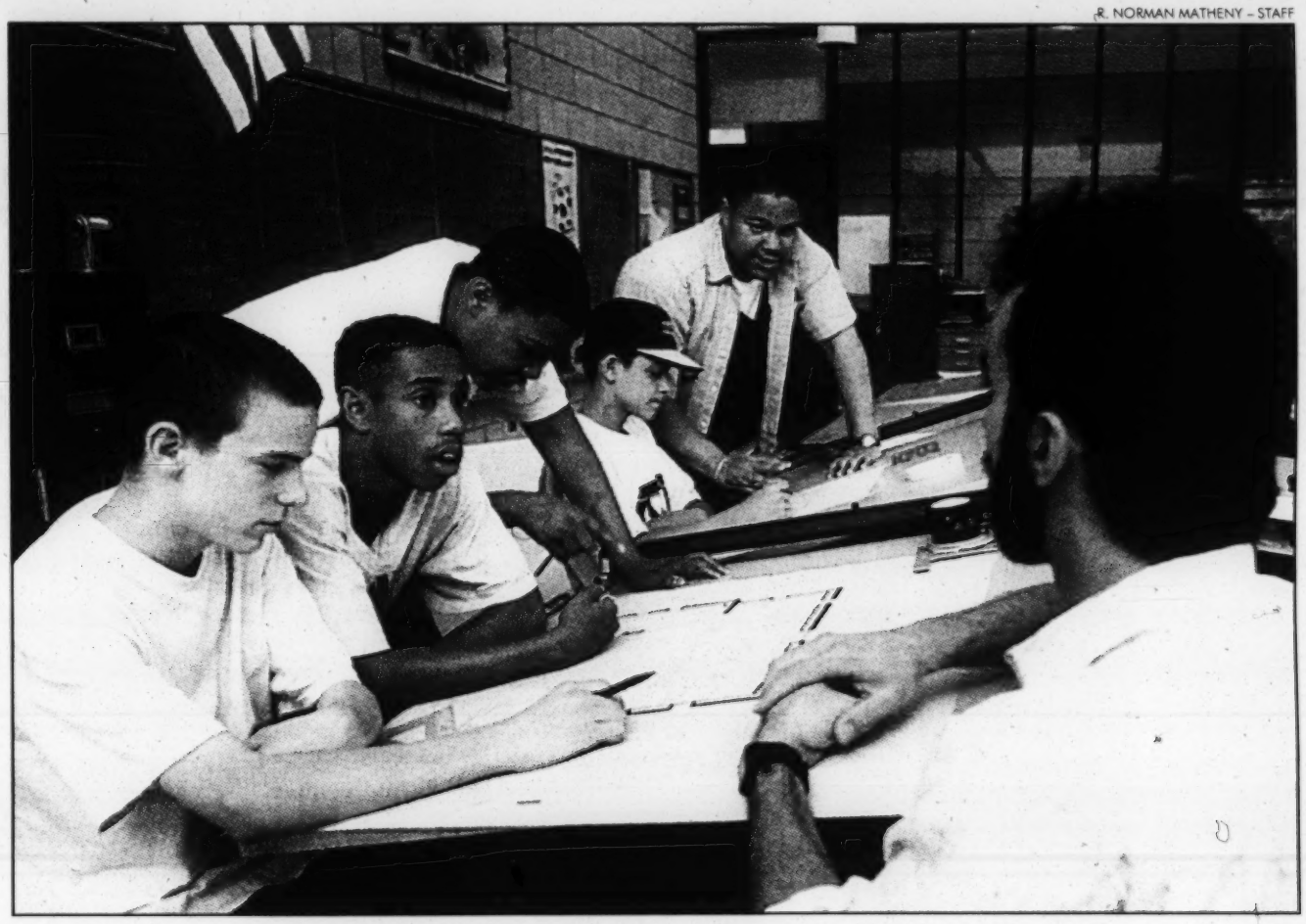
CityWorks began at Rindge in 1991. Each June, the school holds an open house for the community (this year's open house was held last week).

Larry Rosenstock, executive director of Rindge, spearheaded the new program after he helped craft the Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act of 1990. The act mandates more state and federal funding for vocational education and requires that vocational schools broaden training to cover all aspects of an industry – such as management, marketing, and finance – and include more academic subjects.

Mr. Rosenstock, who once taught carpentry at Rindge, would like to see most students go on to college after they finish at Rindge or at least to be employed in high-wage, high-skilled jobs.

"Merely to prepare students for an entry level job is arguably not in their best interest," he says.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



DRAFTERS: *Rindge students (l. to r.) Tristan Spence, Desi Daley, Barry Davis, Alex Reyes, and Edwin Ellcock, participants in the CityWorks program, receive instruction from teacher David Stephen (far right) as they design a Cambridge heritage museum.*

SEVEN GOALS OF CITYWORKS

■ In creating the CityWorks program, teachers at the Rindge School of Technical Arts in Cambridge, Mass., outlined seven objectives they want students to achieve by the end of the year:

1. Develop problem-solving skills. In one assignment, for example, students must create a protective container for an egg so that it will not break when dropped from a height of 20 feet.

2. Learn teamwork. In one exercise, designed to help them learn how to work together and help one another, after students first create an individual "personal résumé," they must work in groups to create a "work team inventory."

3. Develop communication skills. Students describe their experiences and reflect on their work through writing. Oral communication is stressed through interviewing and public speaking.

4. Learn math skills. Students learn about how to use math on the job and why they need to know about units of measurement.

5. Know all aspects of an industry. Besides developing production skills in a particular vocational area, students learn general principles of planning, finance, labor, management, technology, and safety issues.

6. Learn about community resources. Students study Cambridge neighborhoods, demographics, and community needs. They learn about resources the city has to offer and consider changes and improvements they would like to see in the city.

7. Create high-quality work. Students keep portfolios of their projects and are encouraged to have pride in their work. At the end of the year, they create a final portfolio that includes a résumé and examples of their best work.

– E. R.

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Elizabeth Levitan Spaid

■ TUESDAY

Paul McCartney Live in the New World *(Fox, 8-10 p.m.):* The former Beatle performs some of his biggest hits in a live television performance. The two-hour special will be broadcast from Charlotte, N.C. McCartney's repertoire ranges from classic Fab Four tunes to Wings-era songs to selections from his current album, "Off the Ground."

■ WEDNESDAY

Biography *(A&E, 8-9 p.m.):* Groucho Marx (1890-1977) is the subject of this documentary. Kitty Carlisle-Hart, Dick Cavett, and Groucho's children Miriam and Arthur offer recollections and insights about the life of this comic genius.

■ WEDNESDAY

Hate Rock: An MTV News Special Report *(MTV, 10-10:30 p.m.):* It's called "Oi!" and it's the name of a form of hate rock that started in England during the 1970s. Since then the form has spread around the world and is now the preferred music of skinheads – the foot soldiers in a global movement that promotes racial violence and hatred. In this half-hour report, which is broken into three short segments, host Kurt Loder visits the homes and haunts of skinheads in Europe, Canada, and the United States.
The first segment traces the history of hate rock and differentiates between skinheads who are disciples of Hitler and those who are peace-loving. Act II examines some of the reasons why the skinhead movement has grown in Germany, and compares the activity (on a much smaller scale) to the Nazi regime in the '30s. In Act III, Loder travels to Orlando, Fla., and talks to skinheads in the US. The program's footage of crazed youths shouting hate slogans is chilling, but even more disturbing in some ways is a scene that shows how just about anyone with a PC can tap into a worldwide neo-Nazi computer network. Through this network, for instance, PC users get access to instructions on how to make bombs and purchase illegal weapons.

Please check local listings for all programs.

Memory Stirs in 'Long Day Closes'

Filmmaker Terence Davies talks about his childhood, which was both turbulent and blissful

PHOTOS BY SONY PICTURES CLASSICS

FAMILY UNIT: *Home life improves for Bud (Leigh McCormack, with Anthony Watson and Ayse Owens) after the passing of his abusive father.*

By David Sterritt
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

TERENCE DAVIES talks with intelligence, passion, and wit about music, poetry, and other forms of expression that have deeply influenced his life.

But his greatest love in the world of art – his "raison d'être," as he calls it – is cinema.

He has been making films in his native England since 1973, and his newest work, "The Long Day Closes," promises to boost his reputation higher than ever among moviegoers who share his affection for visual gracefulness and sensitivity – and his disdain for conventional notions of plot and character development.

Like all of Mr. Davies's works,

FILM

"The Long Day Closes" is autobiographical. Its hero is Davies as a child, discovering the world of beauty and expressivity that he would later explore as an artist.

In its vivid sense of childhood memory and its exquisite use of form, color, and movement, it resembles his previous film, "Distant Voices/Still Lives," which played in American theaters five years ago. That movie was dominated by the terrifying figure of Davies's father, however, who brutalized his family until his untimely death when Davies was seven years old.

By contrast, "The Long Day Closes" is charged with feelings of family togetherness and warmth – even though Davies considers it a rather sad movie in ways, reflecting not only childhood bliss but also the seeds of adult awareness and the inevitable loss of innocence.

"My childhood fell into two parts," Davies told me in a recent interview. "For the first seven years my father was alive, and he was incredibly psychotic.... My mother wasn't allowed to go out, for instance; and I never slept in a bed, but slept with my mother on a small couch."

After this tumultuous period, Davies experienced his father's absence as a great liberation. "We began to live," he recalls. "Those years between 7 and 11 were so happy. I discovered the world every day, running out into the street and saying, 'Isn't it wonderful the way it looks today!' It was like being completely released, and I felt so loved by my family, and so completely secure. I thought they were the most wonderful in the world."

The smallest of pleasures took on enormous meaning for Davies during this time. "My mother could only afford butter on the weekend," he says by way of example, "and then just two ounces; but I was always allowed to have a crust with butter on it. Bliss! As you can see, I was very easily pleased. And still am, at 47!"

One of those pleasures – which loomed ever larger as his life continued – was moviegoing. "The first film I saw was 'Singing in the Rain,' at 7," he remembers with a smile. "Can you imagine? I didn't know what films were, and then to see that. It made me intoxicated with cinema, particularly American musicals – and anything with Doris Day in it!" Under the influence of such pictures, Davies came to see the United States as "the land of Technicolor and magic," while England was "the land of comedy" with such gifted performers as Alistair Sim and Margaret Rutherford.

"The Long Day Closes" is Davies's effort to "take the quintessence of all that, and show paradise – but a paradise that's already been lost," since adult concerns are lying in wait to change childlike feelings and perceptions.

Like his life at that time, the film is "a combination of experiencing that paradise, and the innocence of that paradise, and the not knowing that it is going, although it is going even as it is being experienced. But still, the ecstasy of experiencing that world!"

In other conversations with Davies over the last five years, I have been struck by his extraordinary capacity for remembering the distant past in immediate and sensory terms.

Asked about this gift, Davies compares himself with "people who can speak many languages – they can just do it. I can remember very vividly. But the drawback is that very often the memories are so subjective. I'm also ultrasensitive to atmosphere, to the point where I'll completely misread it at times."

Davies began his career as an aspiring writer and actor. He became a director "quite by accident," when the British Film Institute gave him an unexpected opportunity to try his hand. "I looked through the camera for the first time," he recalls, "and I knew this was what I was put on this earth for. Even if I do it badly, this is why I'm here!"

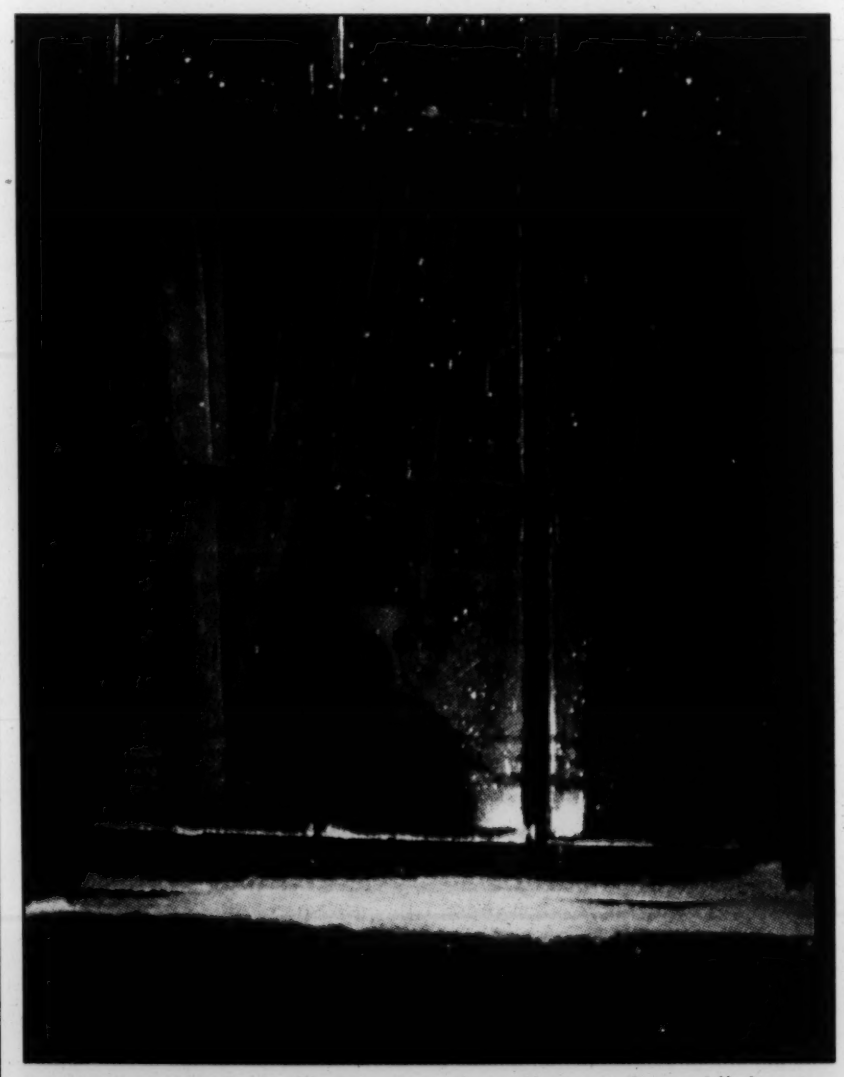
It is not surprising that film appealed so strongly to Davies, with its ability to conjure up memories by capturing many impressions of sight and sound at the same time.

Yet cinema also leaves out many things – perceptions of touch, taste, and smell – that are integral parts of our most vivid recollections. Davies takes a realistic view of film's assets and limitations.

"I THINK it has the same quality that music has," he says, "since it's able to capture the quintessence of something in a single image, or series of images. Obviously there are problems with any art form. I happen to like cinema, but there are things you can't do, such as the internal monologue, which you can only do in a novel.... Film is most powerful when it captures a truth, whatever that truth might be – dramatic truth is not the same as real truth – and people recognize it.

"It's like listening to music," Davies continues, "and hearing with your inner ear the harmonic that the piece is going to resolve to. You feel replete, because it's what you've wanted. If you recognize a truth, you may not particularly understand it ... but you know what it means in your heart.

"No art form can give a complete picture of anything; you can only create a world which is true for you, but may have resonances for other people.... And in an odd way, the more specific it is for you, the greater the resonance for others."



'LONG DAY CLOSES': *In the film, the young hero discovers the world's beauty.*

MUSIC

The Boston Early Music Festival, which opens today, draws fans of historic instruments

Learning to Hear With 17th-Century Ears

PHOTOS COURTESY OF BOSTON EARLY MUSIC FESTIVAL

'L'ORFEO': *The Boston Early Music Festival will draw on many of the same soloists and the conductor Andrew Parrott from a recent Oslo 'Sommeropera' festival production, shown here in rehearsal. Simon Target (center, facing stage) will also direct the Boston version.*

By Karen Campbell
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

FOR many music-lovers, "historically informed performance" is an acquired taste. The intimate acoustics, a general lack of flamboyance in the interpretation, the limited use of vibrato and a sweeter, slightly ropy sound in the strings, the mellow sonorities of early wind instruments – all are generally at odds with 20th-century standards and practices.

Then there's the repertoire. Though the practice of historical authenticity has begun to creep into familiar 19th-century repertoire, much of early music is just that – early. And most casual listeners don't know their Byrd from their Gesualdo.

But for true aficionados, early music is a passion and has inspired a following that is almost cult-like in its devotion. There is nothing casual about the scholars, musicians, and fans who thrive on the pure pleasures of early music. And for those committed to performing any music as authentically true to the composer's intentions as possible – both in regard to stylistic intepretation and the use of original instruments – there is no other way.

Beginning today and running through June 20 at Harvard University, the seventh biennial Boston Early Music Festival is the place to be for lovers of early music. The festival attracts performers and attendees from all over the world, including Australia, New Zealand, and the Far East. Though there have been an increasing number of smaller festivals in recent years, Boston's is the oldest and most prestigious in North America and the second largest in the world (the largest being the Utrecht festival in Holland.)

This year's festival, co-directed by the American lute virtuoso Paul O'Dette and the renowned British conductor Andrew Parrott, focuses on the 16th- and 17th-century English and Italian repertory, with special commemorations of the 450th anniversary of William Byrd and the 350th anniversary of Claudio Monteverdi.

There are several different facets to the festival – main performances sponsored by the festival, concurrent performances of smaller groups, symposiums, master classes, and the festival exhibition, which runs all week.

"It's an extremely lively festival," Mr. O'Dette says. "At any hour of the day, there are two to three concerts going on as well as the exhibition and master classes and symposiums. There's everything from the social aspect of being able to try out instruments and meet friends, to the pedagogical side of master classes and bringing together scholars from all over the world to talk about the latest research on this music."

The festival centerpiece will be a fully staged, authentic production of Monteverdi's first opera, "L'Orfeo," which Mr. Parrot calls "the best opera ever written. It's stunning, one of the very first operas written right at the beginning of the form, and it's a wonderful spectacle, yet very intimate acoustically."

The work will be performed in Italian with English surtitles. Parrott, a noted Monteverdi scholar, will conduct.

"It's one of the most direct pieces of music I know, because the music is so clear and the setting projects the meaning of the text," Parrott says. "Although a lot may seem esoteric, when you see the music so well done, these barriers disappear. It appeals as directly as a good piece of modern theater or a terrific symphony. It's in no way exclusive."

The noted Australian stage director Simon Target will oversee the production, with sets and costumes by James Middleton. The cast will include Joseph Cornwell, Mark Bleeke, Jan Opalach, Ellen Hargis, Frank Kelley, and William Hite, among others. The orchestra will feature a combination of musicians from The King's Noyse and Italy's Concerto Palatino, as well as other noted instrumentalists.

TRAGEDY: *Emily Vanevra sings the roles of Proserpina and La Musica in the Oslo version of 'L'Orfeo,' and she will appear in Boston.*

In addition to four performances of "L'Orfeo," concert highlights will include programs of music from the time of Byrd and Monteverdi by the Handel and Haydn Society Chorus, Concerto Palatino, and the King's Noyse, among others. The Boston Camerata will present a special program of rare, newly transcribed Shaker songs. More than 50 concurrent concerts also are scheduled at various sites throughout the Cambridge, Mass., area.

A focal point of every festival is the exhibition featuring over 120 instrument- and accessory-makers from five continents, as well as record companies and dealers in rare books, prints, and manuscripts. This year's primary site will be Harvard's spacious Memorial Hall.

As O'Dette describes the exhibition, "It's sort of like going to a large zoo or a museum. There are so many fantastic things to see. A lot of people are so interested in the variety of unusual instruments that the average concertgoer has little or no exposure to."

And for early music diehards, there are lectures, classes, and symposiums planned, which will focus on the latest research on performance practices as well as historical and technical information.

The phenomenal growth during the past few decades of the early music field shows little sign of slowing down.

O'Dette explains, "Somehow we've tended to think of music before Bach as kind of pre-music – primitive, a little bit dull and boring. It's unusual why people recognize the great cathedral architecture and literature of early times but assume the music must have been kind of primitive or we would be performing it more often today. The reason was that we didn't have the right instruments. You can't play Renaissance or Medieval music on modern symphonic instruments.

"People had to learn how to get original instruments or get someone to make modern copies and then try to reconstruct playing techniques that had died out centuries ago and were completely different from the techniques used on modern instruments," Odette continues. "Once groups developed the ability to play and get instruments to perform the music, the public started to recognize how exciting this music was."

One important goal of the Boston Early Music Festival is to present a context in which listeners can hear a sampling of the wealth and diversity within the field. "Collaboration is one of the most exciting aspects," O'Dette says, "combining expertise and knowledge and styles. The idea is to bring together the best players to do things you wouldn't ordinarily have the opportunity to hear. That's really what a festival like this should be."

INTERVIEW

An Interviewer Braces To Meet Miss Manners

But the etiquette guru proves to be fun, witty, and easy to approach

By Shelby Siems
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MEDFORD, MASS.

THE idea of interviewing Miss Manners made me a little nervous, as reporters are seldom known for their tact.

Would she scrutinize my appearance? Refuse to answer questions she thought inappropriate? Wait for me to commit, heaven forbid, a faux pas?

If anyone could pass this social litmus test with the etiquette guru, author, lecturer, and popular syndicated columnist – whose real name is Judith Martin – it should be me.

While I was growing up, my mother had put a premium on such proprieties as standing when an adult approached, and responding "Yes" instead of "Yeah" to a query. "Perspiration," not "sweat," was the moisture that appeared on my brow.

On the day of the appointed meeting with Miss Manners, I took special care with the way I looked, but my painted nails were chipping. Not to worry, I'd have a chance to rush home and remove the polish.

But as it turned out, I did not have time before our one-on-one at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University here. And Miss Manners turned out to be very approachable after all, not to mention extremely bright and witty. And showing impeccable decorum herself, she did not give any inkling that she might be examining my own manners.

In fact, she made light of such thoughts.

"People always say they're nervous to meet me," she said, sitting very straight on the edge of a black leather love seat it would be tempting to slump back on. Dressed in an attractive gray wool suit and red silk blouse, hair pinned on the back of her head, she pursued this idea.

"They think I'll look at how they behave. Everyone always makes the same joke. It's like being a meter maid."

Later, in an address to graduate students of international relations at the Fletcher School, she added, "Miss Manners admits that her smile has grown very weak indeed when people say, 'Oh, I guess I'd better watch myself or you'll catch me doing something wrong,' as if she were in the habit of giving out traffic tickets for lunch-table violations."

"I asked in one of my columns if there's one thing people always say to you in your profession," she told me. A policeman responded that when he goes to parties, he is greeted with the chorus: "OK, the cops are here!" A math teacher wrote that new acquaintances love to confront him with: "I hate math."

ROBERT HARBISON - STAFF

MISS MANNERS: *At heart, she says, etiquette is a way of getting along with other people.*

Miss Manners also elaborated on this theme before the students. Reading from her 1989 book, "Miss Manners' Guide for the Turn-of-the-Millenium," she went on: "Some of the deadliest conversations [I know] follow the question, 'What do you do?' "

Generally, there are four kinds of retorts made when an answer is given, she explained during her talk: a request for free labor (to a doctor, for example); complaints (vacuum-cleaner salesman); talk designed to find out how one is doing in his or her career (writer – "Haven't you finished that book yet?"); and the smart remark (psychiatrist – "Guess who at this party is not normal?").

Though Miss Manners spent a large part of her speech discussing etiquette's partnership with law in diplomacy and in maintaining social order, it was her recollections of assignments covering ambassadorial parties for The Washington Post that kept her standing-room-only crowd of about 300 thoroughly amused – as well as the clever solutions to handling tricky social situations she offered in response to audience questions. Such resourcefulness is no doubt what keeps the "Gentle Reader" of her newspaper column eagerly coming back for more each week.

"There were people who'd go to these embassy parties because they liked that [country's] cuisine. I called them 'The Little Friends of Whatever Country,' " she quipped, adding that she called the whirl of parties she had to attend "the garbage run," for the unsavory hors d'oeuvres they served.

What do you do when you are the only woman in a room of military men and one tells an off-color joke? she was asked by one earnest student. "Etiquette does not mean being a victim," Miss Manners replied. She recommended giving the person telling the joke a sort of half-smile, drop-dead frozen look – a piece of advice which she demonstrated and peppered with humor that her listeners clearly enjoyed.

Miss Manners dispensed wisdom on many other subjects, as well, ranging from burping at the table, to avoiding endless chitchat in a receiving line, to dressing for success in the office. "Etiquette is not totally in the fashion business," she said.

On a more serious note, she explained to me, "Teaching etiquette is the kindest thing you can do for your child. It predates law and anything else in getting along with other people. You can't get away without etiquette any more than you can decide not to use language."

Americans, she told her student audience, "can be very proud of American manners, which are based on democracy and achievement, not birth.... When I go to Britain, they ask me how I can profess manners from a savage country. I tell the Brits that I'm there picking up tips at soccer games."

Many pupils at the Fletcher School – and elsewhere – would do well to pick up tips from Judith Martin.

Suns Outshine Bulls In Triple Overtime

IT'S too early to say goodnight to the Phoenix Suns.

After losing (and playing badly) in the first two games of the NBA Finals on their home court, the Suns were in danger of being swept away in four straight games by the Chicago Bulls. To add injury to insult, the Suns' best player, Charles Barkley, went into Game 3 Sunday night hampered by an elbow problem.

But Barkley, getting help this time from strong performances by Kevin Johnson and Dan Majerle, produced 24 points and 19 rebounds to lead the Suns to a 129-121 triple-overtime victory. Majerle made six 3-pointers, tying a record, and Johnson rebounded from two poor games with 25 points and nine assists.

"This was the greatest basketball game I ever played in," Barkley said. "I actually didn't care who won or lost."

It was the second triple-overtime game in the NBA Finals. The Suns were also involved in the first one, back in 1976 against the Boston Celtics. But it wasn't the most overtimes in NBA playoff history. Forty years ago Boston and Syracuse played a *quadruple* overtime playoff game.

SPORTS NOTEBOOK

Is win by Stich a window on Wimbledon?

Britain blooms each spring with several grass-court tennis tournaments. They're used by some of the top pros as warm-ups for the Wimbledon championships, which begin June 21.

Clay-court specialists often skip Wimbledon altogether; this year's French Open champ, Sergi Bruguera, is the latest example. But for those who have just played the slower red clay at the French Open in Paris, and are moving on to Wimbledon, the tune-up tourneys offer a chance to acclimate to the fast, low skidding of tennis balls on grass.

Oddsmakers use the tournaments to see who among the top players is getting his or her grass-court game in shape and who is struggling. They also spot lesser-known players whose playing style on grass may make them tougher than usual.

For what it's worth, Michael Stich, a top-10 player, won the Queen's Club tournament Sunday, defeating South Africa's Wayne Ferreira 6-3, 6-4. Does that make the hard-serving German a Wimbledon favorite? We'll see.

Indurain pedals to a 'double-double'

The Chicago Bulls are on the verge of a "three-peat" as NBA champs, but fans of European bicycle racing may be more impressed by Miguel Indurain's "double-double."

On Sunday, the Spaniard won the Tour of Italy, a 21-stage cycling race, in a combined time of 98 hours, 9 minutes. Indurain is the defending champion of the Italian race, as well as a two-time winner of the even-more-prestigious Tour de France.

Montana-Allen backfield melds two champions

When does 4 + 1 = 1?

When Joe Montana's four Super Bowl rings are added to Marcus Allen's one, it may equal one new Super Bowl championship for the Kansas City Chiefs.

Montana – a longtime superstar with the San Francisco 49ers and arguably the best pro quarterback of all time – signed on with the Chiefs this spring. Last week he was joined by Allen, who also brings glittering credentials, based on an 11-year career as a running back for the Los Angeles Raiders. Allen ranks 12th on the NFL's all-time rushing chart and was the league's MVP in 1985. "Chronologically, I'm 33, but I feel very youthful," he said. "Believe me, there's a lot left. You'll see."

The Chiefs paid megabucks for Montana and Allen in an attempt to turn what has been a very good team into a great team and a Super Bowl winner. The deal brings to mind the Minnesota Vikings' successful effort a few years back to acquire running back Herschel Walker, a football marriage that fizzled.

For Mashburn, the shoe already fits

The NBA draft doesn't take place until June 30, but Jamal Mashburn already has a line of basketball shoes named after him. The former University of Kentucky basketball star signed a five-year contract with Fila Sporting Goods worth more than $6 million. It's really not too big a gamble for Fila: Mashburn figures to be one of the first players taken in the pro basketball draft.

– Gregory M. Lamb

HAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHA

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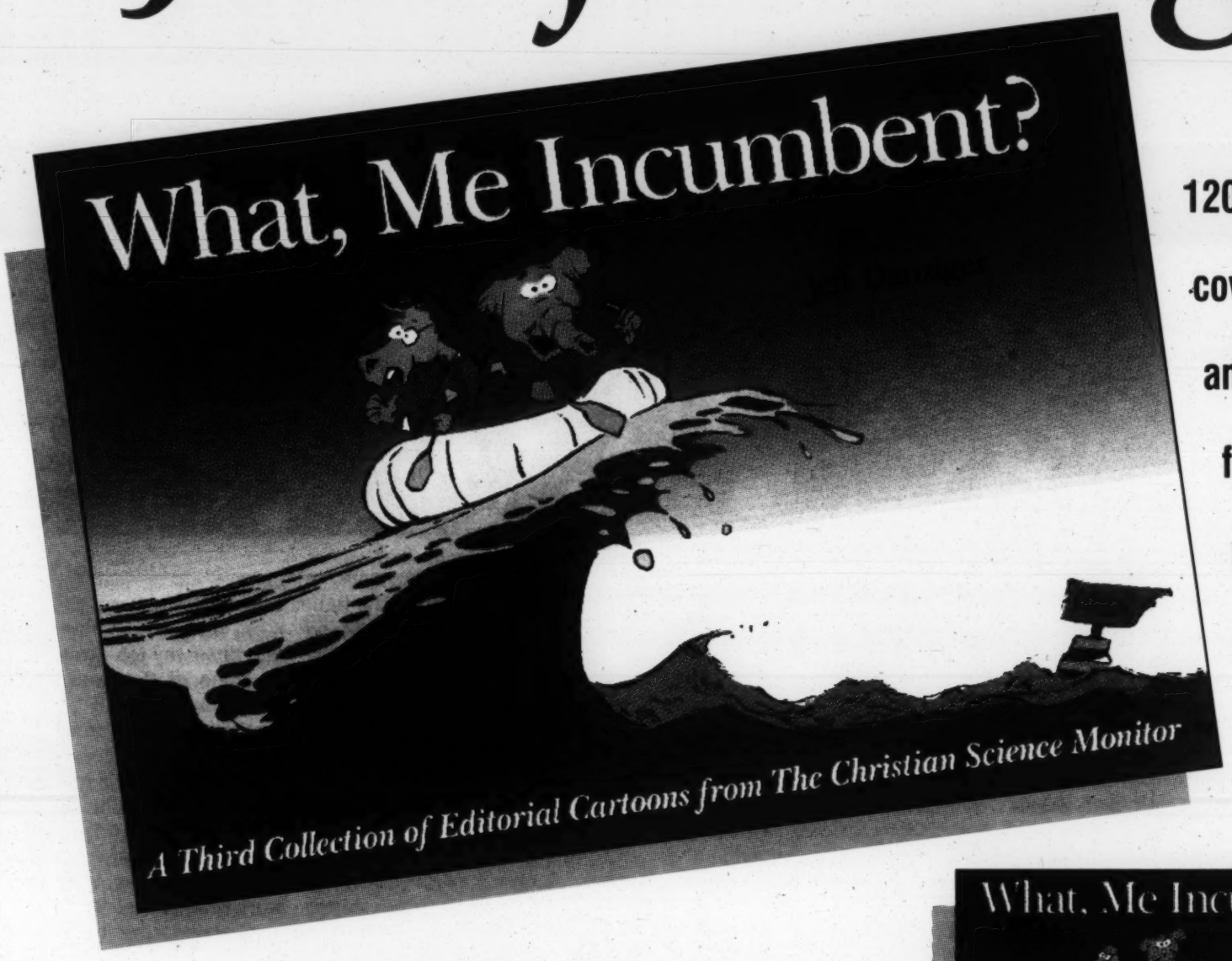

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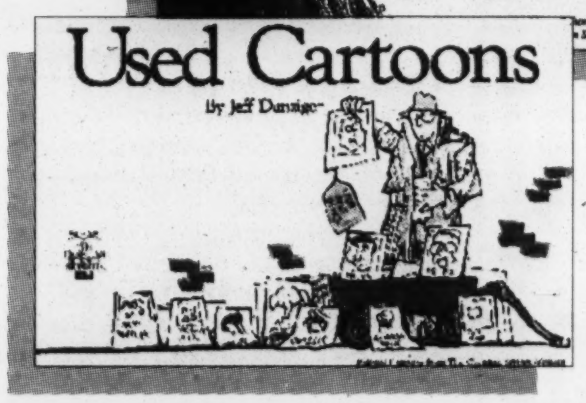

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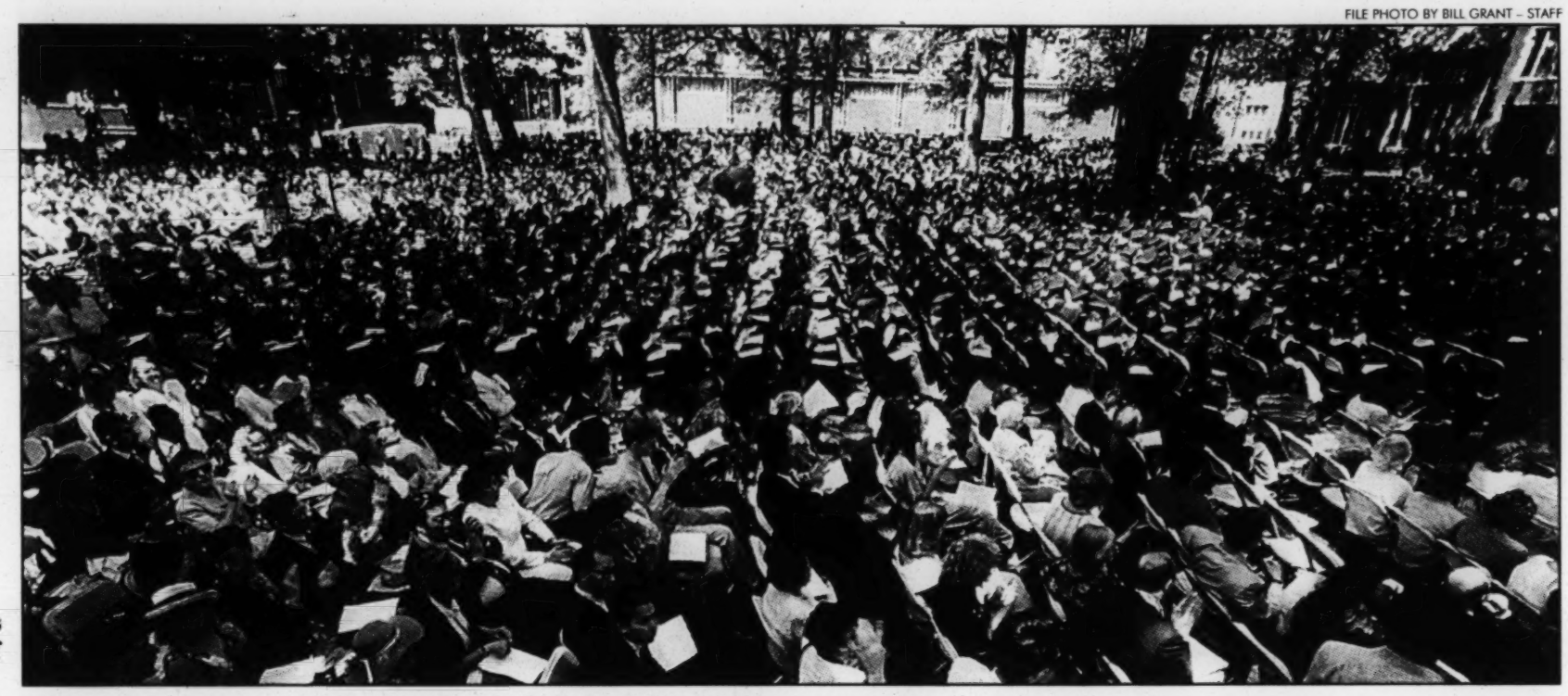
The Home Forum

Hats Off to the Graduates

FILE PHOTO BY BILL GRANT – STAFF



THE BIG DAY: *Graduates and families assembled for Wellesley College's 1992 commencement.*

"I REPRESENT the last obstacle standing between you and your hard-won degrees," said one good-natured commencement speaker as he addressed a group of graduates this spring. His listeners, eager to receive their diplomas at last, may not have caught his every word. Yet his speech and many others across the country invited moments of reverence and reflection, offered advice, wisdom, and a perspective on recent events that may be of interest to a wider audience. Here are some excerpts from this year's addresses:

Tom Brokaw, network news anchor, at the University of Virginia:

Class of 1993, you are educated. Your certification is your degree. You may think of it as a ticket to the good life. But why not consider it a ticket as well to join the revolution of democracy. You may say, but democracy is already here. I have what the others want. True. And you also have certain assumptions, and you are not alone. Among them: There will be more of everything. More affluence, more freedom, more rights because it's our due somehow. This expectation is not confined to your generation. As a society we have come to believe, all of us, that what we do have is maintenance free.

It is not. It requires vigilance and nourishment. That is your responsibility – and it is mine. It is the obligation of all, but it is especially the responsibility of the educated.

You, after all, are privileged. You have been nurtured in the comforting environs of a great university. You leave here armed with an education that your generational counterparts in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, China, South Africa could only envy. What do you think, for example, a young Czech or a young East German would do with an education comparable to yours? Or a young black South African? Or a young Chinese?

Hillary Rodham Clinton, first lady, University of Michigan:

Excellence is not just a word, it is a benchmark. ... And when I talk about excellence, let me just expand for a moment on what I mean. To me, excellence is not found in any single moment in our lives. It is not about those who shine always in the sun, or those who fail to succeed in the darkness of human error or mistake. It is not about who is up or down today or this week. It is about who we are, what we believe in, what we do with every day of our lives. And for me, it is always telling ... as to how someone deals with adversity and challenge.

... We will need to take a collective deep breath and decide how we will proceed in this moment of history to deal with the challenges we face. And you each will have a role in that. You each, by effort and planning, will shape a life and make a contribution, or by the abdication of responsibility for your life, you will have your life shaped for you.

Like generations of Americans before you, you will look for the right balance in your lives – a balance of work, family, and service; a balance between your rights as individuals and your responsibilities to your families, your communities, and your country....

William A. Schreyer, chairman of the board of Merrill Lynch & Co., Smeal College of Business, Pennsylvania State University:

When you graduates take off your gowns today and leave Penn State, you'll encounter, first hand, the powerful forces changing our society, our government, and our economy. In our era, the only real constant is change itself.

Here'e one change you're going to discover as you go out in the world as an accountant, a marketing expert, a business professional. You're going to say, "Trust me. I know what I'm doing."

Unfortunately, you're going to discover that basic trust is a very precious commodity these days. People have been burned ... by what's seen as widespread decay in personal responsibility and accountability. So a big part of your job will be winning and holding their trust, and there's only one way to do that: through the personal example of integrity you set every day, in your dealings with customers, fellow workers, government regulators, and fellow citizens.

That's just a long way of saying "take the high road" – because over the long term it's the only road that takes you where you need to go.

FILE PHOTO BY R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

CREDIT WHERE CREDIT IS DUE: *A message of thanks to a graduate's parents.*

Gov. L. Douglas Wilder, governor of Virginia, Morehouse College (Georgia):

I am convinced that you will not allow the pessimism of those who believe in conventional wisdom to deter you in your quests. We are one nation, under God, indivisible, but we also are individuals who can insist and ensure that there be liberty and justice for all.

... Unless we exercise our rights and demand justice, justice will not be served.

If we do not continue the fight for civil rights, who will? If we do not fight to clean up our streets, and rid ourselves of drugs and violence, can we expect the police alone to make a difference?

If we do not aspire to positions of power, and disprove the claims that our success is based on quotas, how will it be done?

Filling quotas and making token appointments will never suffice. It will not prove our worth, nor will it promote the cause of freedom.

Your life will be surrounded by change, and so you must become accustomed to the whirlwind that spins our planet.

We can deny change and face it with confusion and fear, or we can accept it and attempt to mold it through our determination.

Katie Couric, television personality, Villanova University (Pennsylvania):

... [B]e prepared for the fact that not everyone is going to be your cheerleader. When I was working hard to be a reporter, I was confronted with naysayers all the time. She looks too young, people would say. After a story I ran on CNN, the president of the company called and told the assignment editor he never wanted me on the air again.

... Comments like those could easily be deflating and discouraging. But I refused to let them be. It just made me work harder, made me want to improve all the more. And I matured and got better. And it paid off. In other words, believe in yourself. You know what you can do.

... And do something you love. You know my job gives me access to some of the most successful people in the world. ... I've found that there's one common denominator among successful people. They all love their jobs. The dictionary definition of work includes "toil," "drudgery," and "travail." Those should be antonyms, not synonyms. Ideally, work should feel like play. If you love what you're doing, the devotion will follow. And so will success. Getting a hold of the brass ring isn't very fulfilling if you don't enjoy riding the merry-go-round.

Billy Joel, musician, Berklee College of Music (Massachusetts):

Artists – musicians, painters, writers, poets – always seem to have had the most accurate perception of what is really going on around them, not the official version or the popular perception of contemporary life. When I look at great works of art or listen to inspired music, I sense intimate portraits of the specific times in which they were created. And they have lasted because someone, somewhere, felt compelled to create it, and someone else understood what they were trying to do. Why do we still respond when we hear the opening notes of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony – DA DA DA DA? Or Gershwin's Rhapsody in Blue? Or Little Richard's Tutti Fruitti? Because when we hear it we realize that we are still bound by a common emotion to those who came before us. Like family, we are irrevocably tied to each other because that same emotion exists today. ...

I can't think of a person I've ever met who didn't like some type of music. More than art, more than literature, music is universally accessible. For whatever reason, not all people are born with the particular gift that we have: the gift of being able to express ourselves through music. ... [P]eople who don't have this ability still need to find a way to give a voice to what they're thinking and feeling, to find something that connects them with others.

... [I]f you make this music for the human needs you have within yourself, then you do it for all humans who need the same things. Ultimately, you enrich humanity with the profound expression of these feelings.

Jimmy Carter, former president of the United States, Rice University (Texas):

When you are at the college age and have the experience behind you with an expanded mind and expanded heart to learn more about other people and more about God's world, it is the best time to say, "What will I do with my life? How can I be successful?" and more important, "What is success?"

This was a question asked by the early Christians of Paul. "What are the permanent things in life?" And I'm sure they had the same image in their mind as you have. A good house, good transportation, security in one's old age. And Paul said, "The permanent things are the things that you cannot see." And they were in a quandary about what he meant. And he was talking about justice and truth and sharing and service and compassion, and, if you'll excuse the expression, love.

Frank H. T. Rhodes, president of Cornell University, Cornell University (New York):

Let me suggest three things that are important for success in Life 101.

First, connect with things beyond your major, so that at the center of your life there is something strong and worthy. For four years plus, you've focused your attention. That's good. But its possible to be Phi Beta Kappa and still a doughnut – empty at the core. Drink in the grandeur of existence.

Someone once commented to the 19th-century painter and critic John Ruskin, in reference to a particular painting, that he had never seen a sunset of that particular hue. To which Ruskin replied, "But don't you wish you had?" And it is through our ability to see beyond the limitations of our narrow specialties, to see things as they are, and not only as they are, but as they might be; to make the leap and forge the connections that others have missed that life gains meaning.

Victor E. Weisskopf, in his book "The Privilege of Being a Physicist," wrote, "I often tell my students, when they are depressed by the world, that there are only two things that make my life worth living: Mozart and quantum mechanics." And although each of us will choose our own things to connect to, it is those connections that sharpen the mind, nourish the soul, and fill the void. What makes life worth living for you? Connect with it. "Only connect!"

Second, connect to some people – people whose poetry will illumine your prose. Connect, not just to your family or a spouse or a loved one, though you must – absolutely must – keep those links strong. Also connect to those you are thrown together with day by day. The fellowship you've enjoyed in a host of ways on campus is too precious to let go. Cherish those friendships. Keep those connections strong. And remember that life presents endless opportunities for being open and responsive to the people you encounter every day, and it is those connections that define our humanity. "Only Connect."

Connect to life's moods and rhythms. Connect to the beauty that has been so much a part of your time at Cornell, so that art and music and literature will be your companions on the continuing journey. Connect to those around you, in your families and in your communities. Connect to large and noble purposes so that the spirit of service, of sharing and giving, may continue to enrich your life.

Steven C. Beering, president of Purdue University, Purdue University (Indiana):

We can't know the future, but we can learn from the past, and one of the things history teaches us is that problems often are solved in unexpected ways. A century ago, some scientists were able to present irrefutable proof that our cities were doomed by the ever-growing problem of horse-manure disposal. Those people had all the statistics at their command. They had twenty-twenty eyesight, but they lacked vision.

We can't teach you vision at a university, but we can help you learn to open your minds, and that is why I have no worries about the future of this country or this world. The purpose of this education was not just to prepare you for a career or to transmit a body of knowledge. It was to unleash your creative powers. Collectively as a new generation, you will meet the awesome challenges the 21st century presents. Individually, some of you may change the course of history. You will find answers that my generation did not dream of, because we were too steeped in the past.

None of the obstacles to progress that history has placed before the human race has been a match for the inquisitive, open, and educated mind. It is the greatest power on earth, and it belongs to you. Walk into the next century with eagerness, determination, and confidence. You will not just muddle through. You will triumph, because you are prepared.

FILE PHOTO BY R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

SMILING FACES EVERYWHERE: *Students at Wheaton College's 1992 graduation enjoy their day.*

Family

I'M watching Florence run with a stick through my garden. She's just a common mixed-breed farm dog, but she and her brother Dominic have a special story. Shortly after they were born, they were deprived of their mother. When I heard that, I took the puppies home with me to raise. They have become part of our family. I remembered my own mother's loving protection for my brothers and me as we grew up. And I recalled as well my father's love, wisdom, and care. They were always there for us. Well, after all, I thought, we were family. That's what a family does. That's what a family is for.

But a quick scan of today's news tells us that in many cases throughout the world today, the concept of family can mean far less. We read of broken families, of families torn apart by warfare, of people that are families in name only, with children who are abused, neglected, abandoned.

Is the concept of loving parents, whose presence symbolizes protection, wisdom, and loving support, only available in some cases? Or is there a family for all of us? I wondered about this until I realized that the idea of God as our constant, divine Parent—God as Father-Mother, as divine Truth and Love—assured me that everyone does indeed have access to His care and love. God is really everyone's divine relative. In the Bible, in the book of Malachi, we read, "Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us?"

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

My mother was the first to teach me the Lord's Prayer, which Christ Jesus gave us. It's in the New Testament, in Matthew's Gospel and begins: "Our Father which art in heaven . . . ." She also showed me the spiritual interpretation of it, found in *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* by Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science. Mrs. Eddy says of that first line: *"Our Father-Mother God, all-harmonious . . . ."*

I could see that God, as our Father and our Mother, our divine and permanent Parent, will always embrace us, protect and guide us, under all circumstances. God and His ideas, His children, make up the most wonderful family we could ever have. And understanding the immediate, potent result of turning first to God as our eternal Father and Mother has the effect of correcting whatever in our human history is troubling us. Reaching out to God sets us free to reflect the God-given qualities that we have as His offspring. It reveals fresh, new ways to help others that we might not have previously considered.

Arguments of heredity, racial or tribal concerns, reduced economic advantages, blocked or limited educational opportunities, are silenced by an appeal to the highest possible authority, God. In this unlimited, spiritual family, where we are all the children of God, we must and can see others' needs. And we can know what to do to be helpful in a harmonious, timely way.

We often hear someone refer to a friend lovingly with words like "Why, after all, they're family!" Love has made the relationship into something so special it's linked to our thought of family itself. When we do this, we are accepting God's parenthood as literally true, as it is, and sharing it with others easily, gladly.

Mrs. Eddy writes in *Science and Health:* "With one Father, even God, the whole family of man would be brethren; and with one Mind and that God, or good, the brotherhood of man would consist of Love and Truth, and have unity of Principle and spiritual power which constitute divine Science." Embracing this highest sense of family, we can see that none are excluded. We are all brothers and sisters—God's family.

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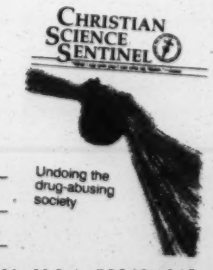


"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Politics Over Power

THE United Nations mission to Somalia is at something of a turning point. The ambush and slaughter of 23 Pakistani peacekeepers on June 5, and the killing by Pakistani UN troops of 20 Somali demonstrators on Sunday, reveal contradictions in the UN operation that have yet to be resolved.

The United States-led UN mission to Somalia in December was humanitarian. But by May 5 when the food became plentiful and the warlords were quiet, the US left. The UN mission then became political. Contending forces in Somalia, including the warlords, were left to work out civil relations under UN assistance, but without the US to act as an enforcing big brother.

The killing of 23 Pakistani soldiers by rebels under warlord Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed was the largest massacre of UN troops since 1961, when 44 "blue helmets" died in the Congo. Sadly, it was not surprising. Like warlords worldwide, Aideed uses guerrilla tactics that incite lawless behavior. The death of the soldiers was a direct attack on the idea of international peacekeeping. At a time when the White House has been criticized for retreating from an active role in the post-cold-war world, President Clinton had little choice but to respond. Hence, US helicopter gunships have retaliated against Aideed in Mogadishu for three straight nights.

It is hoped the Somali crisis can be settled quickly. The disarming or capture of Aideed may help. He is inciting hatred among Somalis against UN troops that have brought food and a degree of order. Pakistani troops, no doubt angry themselves, fed this hatred by shooting into a crowd. An investigation into whether Aideed's rebels used women and children in the crowd as shields while firing on Pakistanis is needed.

In Somalia, as in Bosnia with the Serbs, and Cambodia with the Khmer Rouge, the UN is trying to resolve an inherent contradiction. Its approach has been strict neutrality regarding aggressors and victims. Hence, it tends to legitimize or accommodate not only those uninterested in peace and democracy, but those who would also use the UN process to their own violent ends. Many sober-minded Somalis warned the UN not to allow Aideed into the peace process.

The Pakistani cases show the problems of UN neutrality. The UN may have to shift and more actively support groups in Mogadishu that put politics above power.

Biting the Budget Bullet

PRESIDENT Clinton and New Jersey Gov. James Florio share more than Democratic Party affiliation: Both have been trying to convince their constituents to face up to the economic realities of these times, but not knuckle under.

Governor Florio, who, after taking office in 1990, disavowed a campaign promise not to raise taxes and pushed through a $2.8 billion tax increase with the help of Republicans in the legislature.

The strategy was to put the state's fiscal house in order. As yet, the move has produced only a formidable challenger for the governor in next fall's election: Christine Todd Whitman, who almost unseated US Sen. Bill Bradley (D) in 1990. But give Florio credit for sticking his neck out; leadership doesn't always have immediate rewards.

Mr. Clinton's strategy is similar, but on a vaster scale: reducing the federal deficit's drag on the economy by shifting tax burdens, adjusting benefits, and cutting spending. Through his $500 billion deficit-reduction package, he hopes to set the stage for long-term job and revenue growth. So far, he has been frustrated by lukewarm acquiescence in the US House of Representatives, the presence of a cadre of tough Senate Republicans led by Bob Dole of Kansas, a few maverick Democratic senators, and public doubt.

Clinton is asking Americans to do what they did to build the nation: refuse to accept failure. Governors and legislators of most states are watching with interest how voters respond to candor rather than sugarcoating by federal, state, and local leaders.

Two key superstates, California and New York, also face serious budget troubles. How they deal with their fiscal woes could influence the approaches of another echelon of states – Texas, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, for example. If successful, their efforts could add to the momentum of hope. Clinton's perambulations outside of Washington are part of that, but his actions need to be more skillfully staged. A job for David Gergen?

Recovery can't be produced with bells and whistles, but people's belief in its possibility can be strenghtened.

Ross Perot's "just do it" may sound like cheerleading, especially without specifics, but the basic idea has merit.

Congress has to replace shortsightedness with long-range vision, give the president a break, and accept its part in the restoration of national confidence. Isn't that one of the things they were sent to Washington for?

Despite contrary evidence, an aura of hope for Arab-Israeli peace remains in the region

Rabin's Harsh Tactics May Give Way to Less Rigid Stance

By Richard C. Hottelet

IT may be a triumph of hope over experience, but a visit to Israel and the occupied territories in early June suggested that something is cooking that might ultimately be peace.

Not that all is rosy. In Kiryat Arba, one of the first Jewish settlements outside Hebron, we watched target practice in the cellar of the community center. The instructor was a "wild Irishman" with a ruddy complexion, blue eyes, and a blonde mane and beard. Born in Chicago, a United States Marine in Vietnam, an orthodox Jew who calls himself David, he sees his role as clearing greater Israel of Arabs. If the Israeli government gives Arabs autonomy in any part of Judea and Samaria, he says, "We'll send commandos in to shoot them, burn buildings, and poison wells." Extremist nonsense, say most Jews; David says there are many like him in Israel.

All Palestinians and many Israelis condemn the Draconian measures Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has ordered against Palestinian resistance.

The Arab side has its fanatics and people poisoned by an aimless life under harsh occupation. At 4 a.m. on April 19, helicopters with floodlights hovered over an apartment block in the Gaza strip. Soldiers, looking for four wanted men, rounded up the 140 occupants and drove them away. When there was no sign of the suspects, the soldiers bombarded the block with antitank rockets and captured one suspect. The dwellings and everything in them were blasted and burned. One prominent member of the governing Labor Party told us, "We must establish a balance of fear. People must be more afraid of us than of HAMAS [the Ismalic resistance movement] and the terrorists. We must make sure that they give no refuge; otherwise terrorists would simply fade into the population and disappear."

No trust whatsoever exists on either side. Confidence-building measures have been futile so far. In the ninth round of peace negotiations last month, Israel offered a freely elected Palestinian self-government authority full charge of services, such as health and education, that intimately affect daily life; all, of course, under Israeli security control. The Palestinian team scoffed at this as tricky cosmetics, an offer of partial autonomy designed to stop there and block the way to full Palestinian independence.

All Palestinians and many Israelis condemn the Draconian measures Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has ordered against Palestinian resistance. He was elected on a platform of Israeli security and the exchange of land for peace, but more Palestinians, including children, have been killed in his first nine months than in the last nine of the right-wing Likud government. Reinforced Israeli troops in the occupied territories use live ammunition more freely. After a number of fatal assaults by Palestinians inside Israel, Mr. Rabin ordered the territories closed. Only a fraction of the more than 120,000 Arabs who earned their living in Israel each day now have special permission to cross the line. The effect has been disastrous: higher unemployment, deeper poverty, and desperation.

Where in this bleak picture is there any sign that things might improve? The evidence is tentative and complex. Perhaps the most important single factor is Israel's paradoxical prime minister. Rabin's heavy hand in the West Bank and Gaza reassures Israel that he will not gamble the territories away. But his willingness to give up an as-yet unspecified amount of land, despite the anguished protest of the settlers, contrasts sharply with his stand-pat right-wing predecessors. Rabin is not an ideologue, secular or religious. He apparently believes that the status quo is unsustainable and not correctable by force.

Rabin is carefully cultivating authentic, moderate Palestinian leaders. The offer, still to be fleshed out, of free, direct, general election of the executive authority, under international observation, is new. Negotiation with Palestinians openly linked to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) also is new. Rabin is a leader determined to see things through. He and the Palestinians know that if he fails to get peace with security, Likud will win the next election.

Sound and fury are part of the scene. Palestinians are as obsessed with nationhood as Israelis are with security. Extremists on both sides feed on each other. But the fact that Judaism is the common denominator of the variegated Jewish community does not mean that fanatics have free rein. Nor do the Muslim Palestinians on the whole support the gunmen, while applauding opposition to the hated occupation.

People on both sides are weary of violence and fear. Observers note a seemingly growing Palestinian disposition to test Israel's offer of autonomy, however limited. They want to show the Israelis, the outside world, and themselves what they can do; and build on it to independence.

Yasser Arafat and the PLO remain genuine symbols of Palestinian nationalism. Mr. Arafat still calls the shots. But he is a leader who watches his followers. In his distant Tunis headquarters, cut off from most of the money he received from the Gulf, he is peripheral and less significant. If Israel gives Palestinians a chance to shine, it would brighten the prospects of peace.

■ *Richard C. Hottelet is moderator of 'America and the World' on National Public Radio.*

OPINION / ESSAYS

Cambodia Needs Aid, Not Just Elections

UN mandate should be extended to help country through transition

By Holly Myers and Anne E. Goldfeld

DESPITE the positive developments of the peace process and the elections, and the logistical success of the massive repatriation effort, Cambodians still face the prospect of resurgent Khmer Rouge tyranny, the oppressive corruption and human rights violations of the Vietnamese, expanding warfare, and continued economic collapse.

As Cambodians absorb the news of the election returns, speculation is rife about whether the governing State of Cambodia or the Khmer Rouge will respect the elections results. The announcement by several State of Cambodia-controlled provinces of their intention to secede from the country, along with the immediate failure of a coalition government proposed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, increase this concern, especially in light of the United Nations plan to withdraw from the country in August.

It is regrettable that during this past year, the UN has failed to use its time in Cambodia to fulfill its mandate to disarm the fighting factions and has squandered its chance to deal forcefully with the Khmer Rouge.

Supported by China in the 1980s and invited into the peace process by the United States and its allies, the Khmer Rouge has murdered UN personnel during this past year, directed massacres of peasants of Vietnamese origin, and opened new battlefronts throughout the country.

Both the Khmer Rouge's and the State of Cambodia's capacity for renewed conflict remain as strong as it was at the beginning of the UN-administered transitional period. Newly repatriated refugees have returned to Cambodia only to be forced immediately to flee renewed fighting and join the nearly 200,000 Cambodians who are "internally displaced" due to war. Others find themselves relocated to remote areas with no possibility of earning any income, living in houses that abut mine fields.

While the countryside endures absolute poverty and terrorizing violence, an inflationary urban economy thrives in Phnom Penh, where prostitution and gourmet restaurants have flourished during the UN operation. If the elections are to have real meaning, and if the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia are to succeed, the international community must address these problems and not abandon the effort.

Life for most Cambodians is a struggle at best. Clean water is unobtainable for the majority. One-third of all households are headed by women who, as a group, find themselves with fewer resources and less access to income than men. Children face endemic malnutrition; one in five Cambodian children dies before the age of five. Maternal mortality rates are similarly stratospheric. And now Cambodia faces an AIDS crisis; the number of people diagnosed as infected with HIV has increased by a factor of 10 in the past year alone.

Less than $150 million of the $880 million pledged for Cambodia in Tokyo in June 1992 has been disbursed. Without investment in Cambodia's future, the basic conditions that promote stability will remain nonexistent.

Land mines menace Cambodians to an almost unimaginable degree. The country has the highest proportion of amputees on earth, with one out of every 240 Cambodians missing a limb. At least 4 million mines are planted in Cambodian soil, causing constant and unspeakable human suffering. In Battambang province, formerly Cambodia's "rice bowl," mines have rendered 20 percent of the land unusable for farming, and new mines continue to be placed. Although Cambodia and Thailand signed a logging ban last December, the forest continues to be plundered to enable the Khmer Rouge and the State of Cambodia to pay for their war efforts. This is hurtling Cambodia toward another type of environmental catastrophe.

Despite its desperate situation, Cambodia finds itself the subject of an international waiting game. Less than $150 million of the $880 million pledged for Cambodia in Tokyo in June 1992 have been disbursed. Without investment in Cambodia's future, basic conditions that promote stability will remain nonexistent. While recognizing the difficulty of directing aid to an as-of-yet unrecognized government, donor countries must honor their commitment in order to fulfill any promise of peace implied by the elections.

Similarly, the UN Security Council should extend the presence of peacekeepers in Cambodia, evaluate the successes and failures of its operation there, and dedicate itself to a new phase promoting reconstruction, security, and human rights.

A firm cease-fire must be established. All Cambodian factions must be disarmed and a long-term commitment made to ensure that injustice does not return. Those who participated in Khmer Rouge atrocities during 1974-79 must be held accountable for the crimes against humanity they have committed, which would send an unmistakable signal that their intransigence and violence will not be tolerated. Intensive mine-sweeping efforts and progress toward an international ban on the production, sale, and use of land mines are urgent tasks.

If the UN is unwilling to use its authority to disarm all sides in this conflict, the world community must rethink its purpose in mounting such difficult, expensive, and ultimately vain operations, which in the end will amount to nothing more than a palliative for the conscience.

At the signing of the Paris Accords, former Secretary of State James Baker III said, "What makes the case of Cambodia so extraordinary and its claim for international support so compelling is the magnitude of the suffering its people endured."

Our history with a responsibility to this country runs deep. After 20 years as a hostage to global political agendas, Cambodia has a chance at peace. After millions of lives have been lost, it would be shameful if our moral commitment waivers and our attention turns elsewhere. Cambodia can't wait.

■ *Holly Myers and Anne E. Goldfeld were members of a recent delegation to Cambodia on behalf of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.*

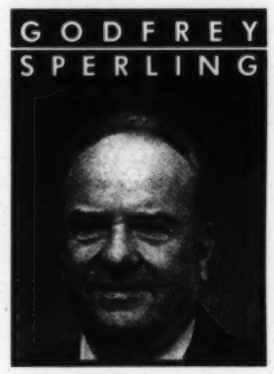
Clinton's Challenge: 'Conviction Thing'

WHEN President Ford shocked the nation with his decision to pardon Richard Nixon, he had been riding high in public approval. Instantly he plunged, dropping to a record low for a president who had been in office for only a few months. He never recovered, almost lost the GOP nomination in 1976, and lost his bid for election.

Mr. Ford's experience may be instructive when looking at the possible future of another president who has taken a similar dive from high public favor. Is President Clinton in lasting trouble? It is a fair question. His rating has dropped to 38 percent, 5 percentage points below where Ford had fallen after pardoning a disgraced president.

Ford said he had pardoned Mr. Nixon to put that controversy aside so that he could govern. I always felt that there was another reason: Ford, a compassionate man, had come to believe that Nixon had been punished enough by the threatened impeachment and being forced out of office.

Whatever the reason, Ford threw away his popularity with just this one act. He thought it would blow over. It didn't, because he had done more than make a move that was widely criticized. By pardoning Nixon, Ford had – with so many people – become a part of the Watergate episode from which he had, up until then, effectively separated himself.



Mr. Clinton's popularity asn't eroded because of one action. He has made a series of mistakes and shifts that have brought his public-approval ratings down to where they are today.

Just mention the names of Zoë Baird and Kimba Wood for starters in listing Clinton's blunders and wobbles. Then add to those his lack of constancy on Bosnia and his failure to fulfill his pledge to provide tax relief for the middle-class.

Clinton has taken various positions on how to deal with Iraq's Saddam Hussein and with Haitian refugees. By withdrawing Lani Guinier's nomination as assistant attorney general for civil rights, Clinton once again has shown less than a firm hand at the helm of the Ship of State.

Can Clinton recover? Of course he can. He has plenty of time. Perhaps this early ineptness will pass as Clinton once again, as he did as a governor and as a candidate for president, learns from experience. He is a quick learner.

In retrospect, Ford's blunder was one from which there was no road back. Voters had been attracted to him because he was so refreshingly different from the departed president. They loved him when he told them in his first speech that the "long nightmare" was behind them. But so many of these same people left him permanently when he pardoned a president they despised and thought deserved being tried and punished.

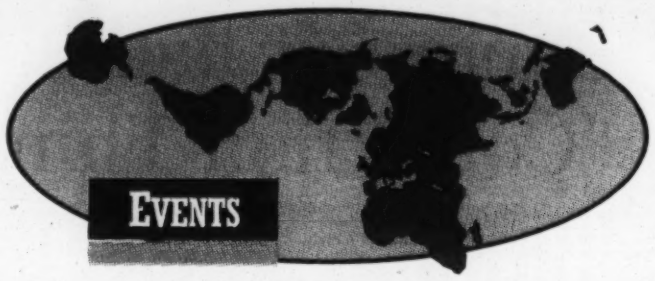
But one question never was asked about Ford: Was he a firm and constant leader? He stuck to his decision on Nixon and has defended it through the years as being right, despite its disastrous effect on his own political future. History may well agree that Ford was right, that he could have done nothing as a president if a Nixon sideshow held the spotlight for months on end.

By contrast, even people who voted for Clinton now ask: What's inside this man? What does he really stand for?

Do the American people, indeed, have a vacillator in the White House? And is he a president without the consistency and courage to carry through on a promise or a policy?

New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis may have put his finger on a basic Clinton problem when he wrote: "Mistakes can be corrected. What is worrying about Bill Clinton is the possibility that something fundamental is lacking in this very smart man. He may inadvertently have said it in his comment on dropping Lani Guinier: 'This is about my center, not about the political center.' "

David Gergen has been brought to Clinton's side to help the beleaguered president with the press. But can he do it? Writes columnist Robert J. Samuelson: "If Gergen has any blunt advice to offer, it ought to be: Tell the truth." And columnist David Broder, after citing a number of Clinton blunders, comes to this devastating judgment: "That this is happening to the man who will remain as president for the next 43 months is an international disaster."



BOSNIAN SERBS POUND DEFIANT GORAZDE

Gorazde shuddered under relentless mortar and artillery attacks yesterday, and Bosnian officials there said Serbs were closing in on eastern Bosnia's last Muslim-defended enclave. The city, home to as many as 70,000 residents and refugees, is one of six "safe havens" designated by the United Nations to protect Bosnia's Muslims. Bosnian Serbs, who control about 70 percent of Bosnia, seek unchallenged authority over eastern Bosnia. Gorazde has been cut off for months and under fierce attack for 18 days. Bosnian Serb leaders have refused to allow UN monitors into the town.

Abortion blockade case

The Supreme Court yesterday agreed to decide whether abortion rights advocates may use federal racketeering or antitrust laws to sue protesters who block women's access to abortion clinics. The court said it will review a ruling that spared Operation Rescue and other anti-abortion groups from being sued under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act or federal antitrust law. Yesterday's action came five months after the high court handed a major setback to the abortion rights movement, ruling that federal judges cannot stop abortion clinic blockades.

Haitian HIV camp to close

The final group of HIV-infected Haitian political refugees, who spent nearly two years in a razor-wire encircled US compound in Cuba, began arriving in Miami yesterday. The remaining residents of the compound at Guantanamo Bay Naval Base – blasted as "an HIV prison camp" by a federal judge – are expected to fly in on eight additional flights over the next week.

The refugees, some of whom are children, have been held at the base despite their valid claims for political asylum because the United States does not accept HIV-infected immigrants.

New York federal Judge Sterling Johnson Jr. ruled June 8 that the camp should be closed and the Haitians, who fled their homeland after President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was overthrown in a 1991 military coup, allowed into the US. The camp will close when all of the refugees have departed.

Once in the US, the Haitian refugees still must complete the asylum process, which could take months.

Bombs defused in Egypt

Suspected Muslim extremists planted bombs in Cairo and another city on Monday, a day after an Islamic radical was executed for plotting to overthrow the government. Police said the bombs were defused without damage. More than 150 people have been killed in clashes between authorities and extremists since last year.

Turkey gets woman premier

Turkish President Suleyman Demirel asked Tansu Ciller to form a new government yesterday, giving this secular but Muslim country its first woman prime minister, Anatolian news agency said. The former economics professor and minister for the economy succeeds Mr. Demirel as prime minister and leader of Turkey's True Path Party, after he quit last month to become president in place of the late Turgut Ozal.

China's Li Peng reappears

A cheerful and generally healthy looking Premier Li Peng appeared in public yesterday for the first time since he was sidelined with an illness more than seven weeks ago.

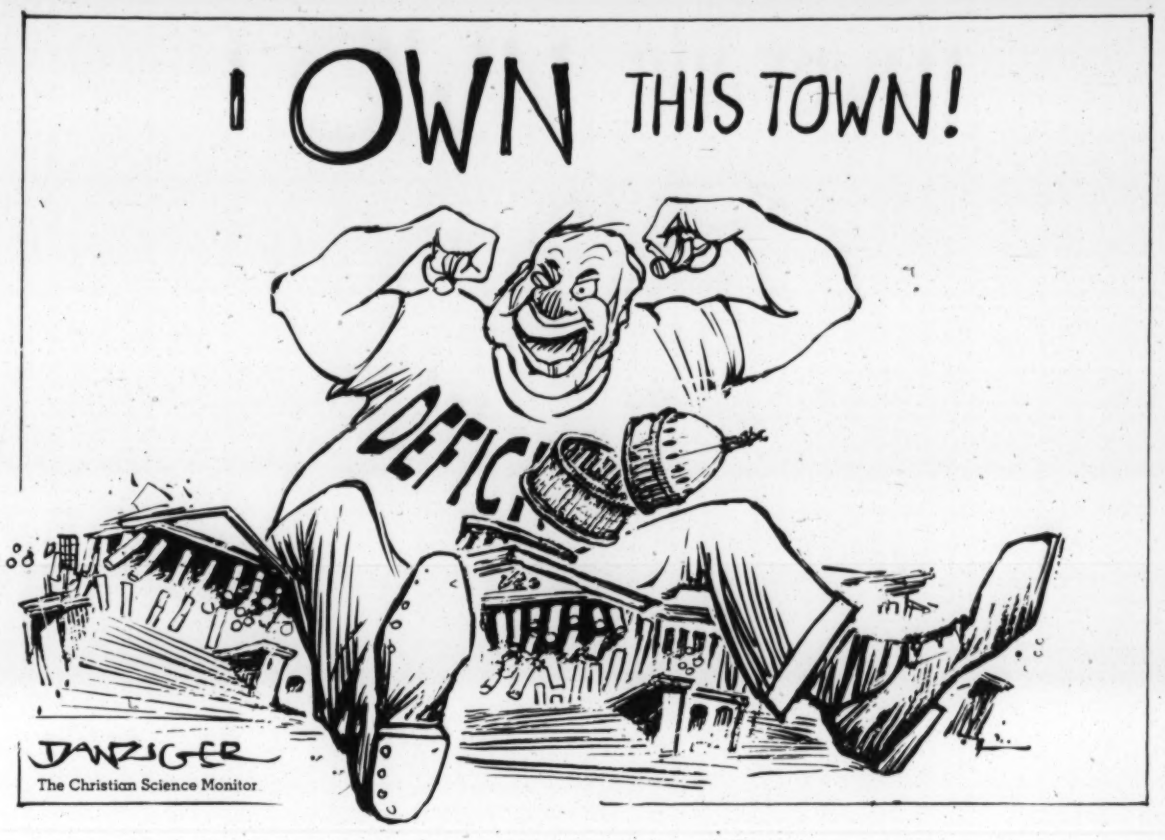
Mr. Li, who is rumored to have suffered a heart attack, smiled and frequently gesticulated as he greeted visiting Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad at an official welcoming ceremony in the Great Hall of the People. Li is widely disliked because of his high-profile role in the crackdown on the 1989 pro-democracy protests and his slowness to support senior leader Deng Xiaoping's market-style economic reforms.

Azeri Rebel Holds Talks

Azerbaijani rebel commander Suret Guseinov held talks through the night with the country's prospective parliamentary leader in an attempt to head off possible civil war, Itar-Tass news agency said yesterday.

Mr. Guseinov held talks at his stronghold in Azerbaijan's second city, Ganja, with Geidar Aliyev, the one-time Azeri Communist Party chief who now looks set to make a comeback as peace-broker in the country's growing conflict. There were no immediate details of the talks.

– Compiled by Scott Baldauf



Losing Post-Cold-War Peace

By Frank McCloskey

THE White House casts Secretary Warren Christopher's latest trip to Europe as a reaffirmation of United States leadership and the vitality of NATO and as concrete action to limit suffering in Bosnia and contain a wider Balkan war.

This is a scam. The administration has failed in Bosnia because it lacks the nerve to lead NATO and use force. It does not admit this failure because it means surrender to genocidal aggression and the unraveling of Europe. So it masks failure with talk of containment.

This new policy will fail too. Western surrender in Croatia and Bosnia makes it inevitable for Serb president Slobodan Milosevic to move against Kosovo and trigger the wider Balkan war Mr. Christopher wants to contain. Appeasement and deterrence do not work together in the face of Nazi-style aggression. We are witnessing a historic moment. It will cost us dearly down the road. We won the cold war. But we are losing the peace.

Under nine Democratic and Republican presidents, America won a tremendous historic victory. This victory is defined by World War II, the Marshall Plan, NATO and the Berlin airlift, the United Nations Charter and Helsinki Final Act, the cold war's end. This victory paved the way for a Europe whole and free, and a prosperous America.

Presidents Bush and Clinton have squandered this victory. Southeast Europe is ravaged by Mr. Milosevic, whose aggression exposes a lack of political will and moral backbone in two straight administrations. The failure of US leadership has put the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, NATO, and the UN Security Council on their deathbeds, issuing communiques with no impact on the ground.

We are indeed entering a new era. But it will be more dangerous than the cold war. Equivocation and redefining problems away have replaced straight talk, conviction, and brave decisions. Our core principles and collective security institutions aren't holding.

This era will consume the peace dividend America hoped for. It will see us reacting to instability and aggression rather than building a "new world order." Aggressors like Milosevic will set the rules of the game.

The White House wants to mask its failure in the Balkans and the consequences for the post-cold-war world with the same kind of maneuvers Bush used to disguise inaction.

Step 1: Redefine the Balkan crisis to delete the imperative for strong action. Thus, Mr. Clinton and Christopher stop talking about Bosnia in terms of genocidal aggression that challenges world order and US security. Clinton goes quiet. Christopher downgrades Bosnia to a civil war, a "humanitarian crisis a long way from home." He even insinuates that Bosnian Muslims are perpetrators rather than victims of genocide.

Step 2: Abdicate leadership to Europe by appeasing Milosevic.

Step 3: Dress this up as a wise marshaling of US resources since we won't exert any leadership.

Step 4: Reassure critics that America leads when it must, as Christopher just tried to do in Europe, as if leadership is talk about "safe havens," a symbolic US peacekeeping unit in Macedonia, and a NATO summit in late '93, instead of action now when it's needed.

I watched these maneuvers with mounting outrage. The Bush administration did no better in 1992, but it was playing out the clock to Jan. 20. Do Clinton's advisers imagine they can play out the clock until 1996?

It isn't too late to win the peace. Clinton needs four things: a strategy to lift the West from defeatism; a strategy to defeat and contain Milosevic in Bosnia and Croatia; a security team that can design these things; and the courage to lead. If he can't find these, the American people are in for real trouble.

■ *Rep. Frank McCloskey (D) of Indiana is on the House Foreign Affairs committee.*